



Daily Report

East Europe

FBIS-EEU-87-234
Monday
7 December 1987

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U.S. Envoy Interviewed on Vienna Talks

AU011856 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian
27 Nov 87 p 2

[Interview with Ambassador Warren Zimmermann, head of the U.S. delegation to the CSCE followup conference in Vienna, by Pal Bokor: "Interview with the head of the U.S. Delegation to the Vienna Talks—Slowly, But Not Hopelessly"; in Budapest; date not given]

[Text] Ambassador Warren Zimmermann paid a several-days-long visit to Hungary at the invitation of the Hungarian Government in order to discuss several bilateral issues of the joint work carried out at the Helsinki follow-up conference in Vienna. In his meeting with the foreign policy columnist of MAGYAR HIRLAP, the ambassador defined the purpose of his visit accurately: "I wanted to have the possibility of discussing the issues on the agenda in Vienna with official personalities in Budapest." The U.S. visitor held a "very useful" talk with Minister of Foreign Affairs Peter Varkonyi and other Hungarian official personalities, and on this occasion praised the "very constructive role" played by the Hungarian delegation at the Vienna talks.

[Bokor] Would you please characterize the situation at the conference from the perspective of the U.S. delegation?

[Zimmermann] We are counting on the fact that our work will result in the successful conclusion of the conference. However, progress at the moment is slow, and in our opinion it is too slow. There is some progress in the military sphere, which is, of course, a very important one. This progress will, in the final analysis, lead to the opening of talks on conventional arms. Progress in the sphere that we usually describe as the "human dimension" is considerably slower. I think that this is quite sad because I cannot remember a time when there was a better opportunity for progress in this area, because of two reasons: First, because the neutral countries—especially Austria and Switzerland—are playing a very positive role on the subject of human rights and human contacts, a role that is much more realistic and positive than ever before. For us, this means that there are certain possibilities. Second, very favorable things have happened in the Soviet Union. In my opinion, the recent emphasis on publicity and the new way of thinking signify an opportunity for us to make progress in the human sphere. Everything considered, we believe that much more than ever before can be achieved in Vienna on all topics, and primarily in the humanitarian sphere. In my opinion, the chances are good, and it is a pity there are only promises.

[Bokor] How do you evaluate the role of Hungarian foreign policy from the perspective of the entire Helsinki process?

[Zimmermann] I regard its role as very constructive. In fact, we had direct cooperation with the Hungarian Government on several very important subjects, for example, on the subject of national minorities; and we are the co-authors of a very significant proposal. We cooperated with Hungary in other areas. For example, on the subject of the scientific conference to be held in Italy, a conference which Hungary helped propose and to which the United States relates very positively.

[Bokor] What is the role of the process of security and cooperation in Europe in U.S. policy, and what weight does this process carry?

[Zimmermann] The process of security and cooperation in Europe is important for us mainly for two reasons. First, because it secures a stage for the debates and talks relating to military security. In my opinion, the Stockholm agreement, for example, was a very important agreement that demonstrated that the all-European process can really function in the area of security. The second reason is connected to human rights. This has been a very significant issue for a whole series of U.S. Administrations and presidents. It is also very important for President Reagan, and we regard the Helsinki process as the multilateral expression of the human rights issue.

[Bokor] As the head of the U.S. delegation, how can you establish the delicate balance between the military and human rights issues so that they do not hinder each other?

[Zimmermann] As regards this harmony, our purpose is not different from the purposes declared by the Warsaw Pact. For example, we have claimed for a long time that the Vienna results should have a balance between the military and humanitarian factors. The same requirement is reflected in the Prague Declaration of the Warsaw Pact made a few weeks ago. We regard this as a very favorable sign. We read with similarly great attention General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev's speeches in which he extensively deals with the importance of human rights and with the importance of accepting commitments related to human rights. Therefore, I think that the necessary conditions exist for our finding the mutually desired balance. We have regrettably not yet been successful in finding this balance, but I think that it is entirely possible to create one that will advance our good relations in the military and human spheres farther than previously.

[Bokor] The Soviet Union has submitted a proposal to hold a conference on humanitarian issues in Moscow. What is the U.S. position on this proposal?

[Zimmermann] Our position is not negative. We believe that such a meeting can be useful, but it requires very thorough preparations. The U.S. delegation stipulated two conditions for the conference: First, the conference in Moscow should be held in a favorable environment characterized by openness and accessibility; that is, it

should be held amid conditions that are similar to the conditions of other meetings within the Helsinki process. We are thinking of conditions similar to the Budapest cultural forum. We believe that the Hungarian Government acted correctly when it opened Budapest to all activists of the participant countries. This is one thing on which we would like to have firm guarantees from the Soviet Government. Second, we would like the positive trends that can be seen in the Soviet Union's human rights performance to increase and strengthen. This would be an important factor for our eventual approval of the Moscow human rights conference.

Rotfeld Chairs CSCE Discussion on Human Rights
LD012118 Warsaw PAP in English 2010 GMT
1 Dec 87

[By PAP Correspondent Franciszek Malinowski]

[Text] Vienna, Dec. 1: A discussion on the problems of establishing a multilateral mechanism of supervising and controlling the implementation of human rights evolved at today's session of delegation heads from the 35 countries participants of the CSCE Vienna meeting, which was chaired by deputy head of Poland's delegation Adam D. Rotfeld.

In his address Rotfeld opined that a convergence between stands of the delegations emerged as to the idea that sufficient reflection of the human dimension of the post-Helsinki process should be provided for by the Vienna CSCE meeting final document.

Convergent stands are also emerging as to the exchange of information on the implementation of human rights in particular countries.

Intensive editing work is being carried out in all the groups that have been founded by the CSCE Vienna meeting. Mention should be made here that during the

works on the third chapter the delegates formally registered the first paragraph which was based upon the Polish proposal to render legal, consular, and medical assistance to the CSCE states' nationals who are staying in the territories of other states participants of the process that had been initiated in Helsinki.

Charter 77 Addresses Censorship Appeal to CSCE
AU040959 Vienna NEUE AZ in German 4 Dec 87 p 6

[Premysl Janyr report: "Charter 77 Addresses Urgent Appeal to Vienna CSCE Conference"]

[Text] "Please, do not remain silent about the fact that at the end of the 20th century, in the heart of Europe, it is possible for every police officer to decide which poem may be printed! If the CSSR Government does not listen to the voice of the citizens, it will hopefully listen to the common voice of all Europeans!" This emotional appeal was addressed to the participants in the CSCE conference in Vienna by the internationally renowned dramatist Vaclav Havel.

The nervousness of the CSSR leadership is increasing not only because of Gorbachev's course of reform—which is considered heretical by the CSSR establishment—but also because in Moscow a reevaluation of the intervention at the end of the 1968 Prague Spring has been put up for discussion.

Charter 77 is calling for a rally in Prague on 11 December, International Human Rights Day. It has invited the International Red Cross as well as U.S. and Soviet physicians to check on the conditions of imprisonment and the health of political prisoners.

New citizens' initiatives, which go far beyond the circle of Charter 77, demand Parliament to finally start democratization and the state president to resign. The secret police are avoiding any large-scale action. Any "noise" in Prague could be heard at the Vienna CSCE conference and could disturb Gorbachev's efforts to create a new image.

World Leaders Send National Day Greetings

Greece's Sartzetakis Greets Alia

AU051709 Tirana ZERI 1 POPULLIT
in Albanian 1 Dec 87 p 3

[Message from Khristos Sartzetakis, president of the Republic of Greece to Ramiz Alia, chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania]

[Text] On the occasion of the anniversary of Albania's liberation, in the name of the people of Greece, and personally, it is my pleasure to convey to Your Excellency most cordial congratulations and sincere wishes for the well-being and prosperity of the people of Albania and for your personal happiness and prosperity.

Turkey's Evren Sends Message

AU051711 Tirana ZERI 1 POPULLIT
in Albanian 1 Dec 87 p 3

[Message from Kenan Evren, president of the Republic of Turkey, to Ramiz Alia, chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania]

[Text] On the occasion of the National Day of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, it is my pleasure to convey to Your Excellency my warm congratulations and best wishes for your health and happiness, as well as for the constant progress and prosperity of the befriended Albanian people.

I avail myself of this opportunity to reconfirm our desire to strengthen the relations of friendship and cooperation between our two peoples.

PRC's Li Xiannian Sends Greeting

AU051706 Tirana ZERI 1 POPULLIT
in Albanian 1 Dec 87 p 3

[Message from Li Xiannian, president of the PRC, and Li Peng, premier of the State Council of the PRC, to Ramiz Alia, chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, and Adil Carcani, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania]

[Text] On the occasion of the 75th anniversary of the proclamation of independence and the 43d anniversary of Albania's liberation and the triumph of the people's revolution, in the name of the Chinese Government and people, we convey to the Albanian Government and people festive greetings and wishes for the country's progress and prosperity and the happiness of the people.

Delegation Departs For Egyptian Trade Fair

AU031101 Tirana ATA in English
0915 GMT 3 Dec 87

[Text] Tirana, December 3 (ATA)—At the invitation of the minister of economy and foreign trade of the Arab Republic of Egypt, Yusri 'Ali Mustafa, a delegation of the PSR of Albania, headed by the minister of public service, Xhemal Tafaj, left on December 2 to take part at the first international exports fair of the Arab Republic of Egypt.

People's Assembly to Convene 28 December

AU041223 Tirana Domestic Service
in Albanian 1900 GMT 3 Dec 87

["Decree on the Convening of the People's Assembly for the Second Session of the 11th Legislature"]

[Text] The Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania decided:

To convene the People's Assembly for the Second Session of the 11th Legislature on Monday 28 December 1987 at 0900 hours [0800 GMT].

This decree comes into effect immediately.

Tirana 20 November 1987.

Decree No 7171.

In the name of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania:

Ramiz Alia, chairman;

Sihat Tozaj, secretary.

Lazri Speaks on Serbian 'Myths' of Kosovo

AU301725 Tirana PUNA in Albanian 24 Nov 87 p 1-2

["Excerpts" from lecture by Dr Sofokli Lazri, director of the Institute for the Study of International Relations, at National Conference on the 75th Anniversary of the Proclamation of Independence, in Tirana on 23 November: "The Albanian National Movement and the People's Revolution"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] Many of the acute problems facing Albania in its foreign relations in the past remain topical today. Some tendencies which one might have hoped that time could overcome are still present, and are indeed extremely active.

The Great Serbs are declaring all our Albanian culture, tradition, and customs to be illegal in Kosovo, under the pretext that they incite irredentism, nationalism, separatism, conservatism, and so forth. No doubt the instigators of the anti-Albanian campaign in Kosovo know this. But denying the cultural and historical traditions of

the Albanians is neither a mistake nor merely a kind of psychological warfare. It is an expression of a definite policy which states that somebody must civilize the "uncivilized" Albanians, and that the territories inhabited by Albanians today were historically a blank, ready for anybody to fill them up. The Great Serbs oppose the history of the Albanians who have been living on their ancient territories for thousands of years with a Byzantine church in Pec, a legend about Prince Lazar who was killed by the Turks at the Battle of Kosovo, and other myths of this kind. But if Kosovo, for the Serbs, is a land of medieval myths mainly created by their 19th-century romantic nationalist literature, for the Albanians it is the center of their national movement and of the great anti-Ottoman rebellions that led to the liberation of the nation and the creation of the first independent Albanian state. Definite historical realities cannot be changed by myths, and still less by violence. The war now declared by the Serbian chauvinist clan on Kosovo's autonomy and the outrages against Albanian historical traditions are not merely a tragedy for Kosovo, but a historical disaster for the whole of Yugoslavia. They are a severe blow to the national liberation revolution of the peoples of Yugoslavia, throwing them into a period of national and social conflict which has cost them dearly. [passage omitted]

Leaders' Public Appearances 29 Nov-5 Dec

AU051934 [Editorial Report] Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian and Tirana ATA in English in their broadcasts from 29 November-5 December reports the following public appearances of Albanian leaders (sourceline of broadcast in parentheses):

Ramiz Alia, AWP Central Committee first secretary and chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania; Adil Carcani, AWP Central Committee Politburo member and chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania; Lenka Cuko, Foto Cami, Manush Myftiu, and Rita Marko, AWP Central Committee Politburo members, laid wreaths at the War Cemetery in Vlore on 29 November. (Tirana Domestic Service at 1700 GMT 29 Nov)

Hajredin Celiku, Besnik Bekteshi, and Hekuran Isai, AWP Central Committee Politburo members; Pirro Kondi, Kico Mustaqi, and Llambi Gegprifti, AWP Central Committee Politburo candidate members, laid wreaths at the Martyrs of the Nation Cemetery in Tirana on 29 November. They also attended a commemorative meeting in Tirana on the occasion of the 75th anniversary of the country's independence and the 43d anniversary of its liberation. (Tirana Domestic Service at 1700 GMT 29 Nov)

Besnik Bekteshi, AWP Central Committee Politburo member and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers; and Pirro Kondi, AWP Central Committee Politburo candidate member and Tirana District AWP Committee first secretary, attended on 4 November a solemn meeting held in Tirana to mark the 75th anniversary of the Albanian Post-Telegraph-Telephone State Administration. (Tirana ATA in English 0901 GMT 4 Dec)

Atanasov Meets Soviet Standards Chairman

*AU042142 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian
1830 GMT 4 Dec 87*

[Text] Comrade Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Council Of Ministers, received Georgiy Kolmogorov, chairman of the USSR State Committee for Standards. They discussed questions pertaining to the improvement in the quality of the goods produced in the two countries. This improvement is a task assigned by the 27th CPSU Congress and the 13th BCP Congress.

During the talk particular attention was devoted to the quality of mutually delivered goods. Opinions were exchanged on the state acceptance of production in both countries.

It was agreed to prepare an agreement on mutual recognition of the results of state acceptance.

The meeting was attended by Stoyan Markov, chairman of the Committee on Production Quality.

Doynov, Dzhagarov Attend Albanian Reception

*AU011530 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO
in Bulgarian 28 Nov 87 p 6*

[Text] The 43d anniversary of Albania's liberation from fascism and capitalism and of the victory of the people's revolution was celebrated on 29 November. On this occasion Bashkim Rama, charge d'affaires ad interim of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania in Sofia gave a reception at the embassy in Sofia.

The reception was attended by Comrade Ognyan Doynov, as well as by Georgi Dzhagarov, deputy chairman of the State Council, by Khristo Khristov, minister of trade, as well as by deputy ministers, representatives of business circles, scientists, and cultural figures.

Chiefs and members of diplomatic missions accredited in our country were also among those present.

The reception proceeded in a friendly atmosphere.

RCP Working Group Visits 23-27 November

*AU011527 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO
in Bulgarian 28 Nov 87 p 6*

[Text] A working group of the RCP Central Committee visited our country from 23 to 27 November 1987 at the invitation of the BCP Central Committee. The group was headed by Alexandru Szabo, RCP Central Committee candidate member and deputy chief of the RCP Central Committee Propaganda Department. The working group was acquainted with the experience of the BCP in the sector of ideological work. It visited party committees and organizations, as well as workers collectives in Sofia and Stara Zagora.

The guests were received by Stoyan Mikhaylov, secretary of the BCP Central Committee, who briefed them on the work of the BCP in implementing the decisions of the 13th BCP Congress, as well the decisions adopted at the 1987 July and November plenums of the BCP Central Committee.

Consular Convention With PRC Ratified

*AU031505 Sofia BTA in English
1327 GMT 3 Dec 87*

[Text] Sofia, December 3 (BTA)—The ratificational documents of the consular convention between Bulgaria and China signed on May 6 this year during the visit of Mr Todor Zhivkov, secretary general of the CC of the BCP and president of the State Council, to China were exchanged today at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

This document is of great political significance for the further development of the friendly relations between the two countries. It regulates the status of their consular offices in compliance with the principles of international law.

Mikhaylov, Balev Meet Communist Officials

*AU041957 Sofia BTA in English
1900 GMT 4 Dec 87*

[Text] Sofia, December 4 (BTA)—Mr Stoyan Mikhaylov, secretary of the BCP CC, received a delegation of the Workers' Party of Korea headed by Mr Kang Sok-sung, member of the party's Central Committee, head of a department of the Central Committee and director of the Institute on the History of the Korean party.

The guests were briefed on the work of the BCP in fulfillment of the decisions of the 13th BCP Congress, and the plenums of the BCP CC of July and November 1987.

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Mr Carlos Campos Rodrigues Costa, member of the Political Commission of the Secretariat of the CC of the Portuguese Communist Party, paid a brief working visit to Bulgaria at the invitation of the BCP CC.

He had meetings with Mr Milko Balev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the BCP CC and with Mr Dimitur Stanishev, secretary of the BCP CC. The participants in the meetings discussed the cooperation between the two parties and certain problems of the international communist movement.

The guest left Bulgaria today.

Business Contacts With Britain Continue

AU042006 Sofia BTA in English
1826 GMT 4 Dec 87

[Text] Sofia, December 4 (BTA)—According to Mr Ralph Land, general manager of Rank Xerox EEO Ltd and head of the British delegation attending the British Business Week in Sofia, the economic reform in Bulgaria will facilitate to a large degree the interaction between British companies and Bulgarian enterprises. He said that the visit of 33 British businessmen representing 26 companies had been very fruitful. The British businessmen are returning to Britain convinced that balanced trade and mutual benefit can be achieved by diversifying the forms of cooperation, i.e. through industrial cooperation, joint industrial and marketing ventures. There are excellent prospects for cooperation in such fields as electronics, the chemical and pharmaceutical industry, the training of personnel in marketing, design and quality control.

Mr Ivan Rusev, chairman of the Bulgarian Chamber of Commerce and Industry, said that enterprises of the two countries can now establish direct links which can serve as a basis for industrial cooperation and technology transfer. The contacts with the London Chamber of Commerce will be broadened. Business days of the chemical industry, electronics and telecommunications will also be organized.

Stoichkov Discussed Quake Repair Work

AU021403 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO
in Bulgarian 30 Nov 87 pp 1, 4

[Interview with Grigor Stoichkov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Permanent Governmental Commission for Organizing and Supervising Rescue and Emergency Repair Operations in the Event of Natural Disasters and Major Accidents, by Dimitur Delinski: "The Earthquake in Strazhitsa Was and Remains a Test for Every Bulgarian"—place and date of interview not given]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [Delinski] Immediately following the earthquake the BCP Central Committee Politburo and the Council of Ministers adopted a special decision to overcome the aftermath of the earthquake. What assessment can be made now, a year after the disaster?

[Stoichkov] The work on overcoming the consequences of the earthquake was carried out in two stages. During the first stage rescue operations and urgent repair work were quickly organized. [passage omitted]

The building restoration work began in the second stage. Some 38 building organizations were called in to take part in this work, and many building workers were sent to the region. As a result of the urgent measures taken

reinforcement and repair work was completed that created conditions for the region's main production enterprises to operate normally at the present time. In Popovo output to the value of 95 million leva has been produced, as against the planned figure of 94 million leva for the 9-month period. In Strazhitsa the plan for the same period provided for an output valued at 23.7 million leva, whereas 24.3 million leva was actually produced. The structural reinforcement of 25 schools containing 313 classrooms has been carried out. The work on 3 further schools will be completed by the end of the year, leaving 6 schools needing strengthening, the work on which is included in the plan for next year. The academic year in Strazhitsa and Popovo began on time. This had a positive effect on the local population, since 150 evacuated families came back to Strazhitsa who, it had been thought, would not return.

[Delinski] Nonetheless, Comrade Stoichkov, the question of restoring the housing stock remains most uncertain, while the greatest damage occurred in this sector. Our newspaper also wrote recently on this subject. We understand that this problem cannot be solved in a month or two, nor even in a year or two, but the whole of our society is interested in the outlook for its solution.

[Stoichkov] The restoration of the housing proved to be an exceptionally complex task. Clearly, this process will last for 3-4 years. Solutions had to be found for many fundamental problems, such as which buildings should be strengthened and which should be completely rebuilt. A construction base had to be established. Repairs were completed on 7,800 partly damaged individual dwellings and a further 6,000, earmarked to be pulled down, but fit for temporary habitation, were temporarily repaired. In Strazhitsa 591 apartments were structurally reinforced. Plans were made to produce and erect temporary houses of light construction—700 for Strazhitsa and 400 for Popovo. In Strazhitsa 500 houses of this type will be erected by the end of the year, and in Popovo 250 will be built. The people don't like living in them, but want to stay near their yards, their cattle, and their property.

Unfortunately certain building organizations that successfully completed the repairs on the schools failed to begin in good time to build the dwellings they had been ordered to construct. For this reason the general directors of the building-installation combines in Varna, Plevna, Sliven, Khaskovo, Vidin, Vratsa, Burgas, and Pazardzhik were punished, as well as the leaders of the "Tekhnoprogress," "Steel-Concrete Structures," and "Industrial Construction" Economic Trusts. I should point out that some blame for the delay also attaches to the local councils, which failed to provide building plots in good time or to clear the sites, and serious harm was also caused by the rumor spread about that a disastrous earthquake would occur on 6 August, due to which many citizens held back from starting building work. [passage omitted with details of investment in building equipment]

[Delinski] At such a complex period problems could not fail to occur that made the solving of the most important tasks even more difficult. There were even public rumors that certain people are attempting "to fish in troubled waters." What difficulties are you encountering in overcoming the problems facing you?

[Stoichkov] It is true that attempts were made to artificially inflate the assessment of the damage, and unfortunately certain leading cadres of the two towns were also involved in these attempts. However, immediately upon receiving the first warning report an inspection was carried out and the necessary adjustment was made. A decision was made to make an unconditional payment of 2000 leva to each claimant, in addition to the value of the damage. The original decision to pay out the value of the damage to the victims in cash aroused the desire of certain sons and daughters to get this money and buy themselves cars or build villas in other parts of the country. It was therefore decided instead to provide the victims with materials, equipment equal in value to the damage, or to compensate them in another material way. [passage omitted]

Furthermore, certain planning and project design organizations have failed to complete on time the design projects entrusted to them. For example, by 30 October the Territorial Planning Organization in Sofia had completed 57 of its 160 projects for reinforcing individual dwellings, the Sliven organization had completed 8 of 62 projects, while organizations like "Tekhproekt," "Bio-proekt," and "Mashproekt" had failed to complete a single one of the 183 projects entrusted to them.

Certain leaders in the regions affected by the earthquake are not approaching the situation created in a completely conscientious manner. They are trying to use the resources they have been provided with to solve problems outside the earthquake-damaged regions. The leaderships of Veliko Turnovo and Turgovishte Okrugs have not concentrated the necessary resources in the damaged regions. During the past 10 months the two okrugs have been overfulfilling the plan for housing construction, but at the same time have failed in the main to fulfill their tasks in the earthquake-affected regions. What is more, they have directed some of the equipment and materials provided for repairing the damage to other construction sites. The participation of the local population in the repair and restoration operations has also been unsatisfactory.

A number of central departments are also guilty. These are failing to fulfill their obligations toward their subsidiary offices in the affected regions. I am referring to the Central Cooperative Union, the National Agroindustrial Union Association, Communications Association, and the Ministry of Transportation.

[Delinski] We have all been living with the thought that the aftermath of the earthquake will hardly be eliminated within 1 year. It appears from what you have said that good intentions are one thing, but the reality is something different.

[Stoichkov] The experience of Skopje and Tashkent has demonstrated that it takes 4-5 years to overcome the consequences of similar earthquakes. It is precisely for this reason that the decision of the Politburo of the BCP Central Committee and the Government's documents have set the task of completing the restoration work during the years of the current 5-year plan. [passage omitted]

Officials Attend Internal Forces Conference

AU021529 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian
1 Dec 87 p 3

[Lt Col Georgi Mikhaylov report: "With the Pulse of Time"]

[Text] An accountability-election party conference of the Internal Forces took place at the Central Army Club.

Colonel General Velko Palin, head of BCP Central Committee "Social and National Security" Department; Minko Minkov, deputy minister of internal affairs; and generals and officers of the Ministry of Internal Affairs took place in the conference.

Officer Stefanov, who read the main report, stressed that the soldiers and commanders of the Internal Forces are firmly united around the April line of the party and government and unreservedly support restructuring in all areas of the country's sociopolitical life.

In their statements, Officers Milushev, Martinov, and Mikhaylov stressed the positive aspects in the work of the commanders and political workers, and dwelled on the weaknesses in their work. Simultaneously, ways of overcoming the shortcomings in work at all levels were pointed out.

The party conference adopted important decisions related to further perfecting the style and methods of the work and leadership on the part of the commanders, staffs, political workers, and Komsomol organizations to reach a new qualitative level in combat readiness and to intensify the consciousness, activity, and discipline of the Communists and Komsomol members, in accordance with the new party requirements related to further enhancing the contents of the ideological work and studying the decisions of the 13th BCP Congress, the subsequent BCP Central Committee plenums, and the National Party Conference, and the practical implementation of the tasks springing from those decisions. This will facilitate the achievement of profound qualitative changes in every army unit, enriching party-organizational work, and accelerating the process of restructuring internal party life.

Razgrad, Lovech Oblast BCP Conferences End

AU051526 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian
1830 GMT 4 Dec 87

[Excerpts] The constituent conferences of the Oblast BCP organizations took place in Razgrad and Lovech today.

Petur Petrov, first secretary of the Razgrad Oblast BCP Committee, read a report. [passage omitted]

Comrade Yordan Yotov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and BCP Central Committee secretary, delivered a detailed speech.

He stressed the necessity for a new approach and a sober evaluation of the situation. Only on the basis of this stand, he pointed out, we can determine the main tasks in party and economic work. We must overcome the old habits and cliches, we must apply the revolutionary new spirit and we must learn to work and live according to them.

Comrade Yordan Yotov expressed the confidence of the BCP Central Committee and of the Politburo that the oblast and municipal party organizations will devote all their selfless efforts and skill to the further qualitative growth of socialist property.

At its first plenum the Razgrad BCP Oblast Committee elected Petur Petrov first secretary and Boris Atanasov, Petur Obretenov, and Yulia Pirinska secretaries.

In Lovech, as well, a party conference of the Oblast BCP organizations was held. The report was read by Nikola Tsonev, first secretary of the Lovech Oblast BCP Committee. [passage omitted].

Comrade Petur Mladenov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo, delivered a speech at the conference. He conveyed the greetings of the BCP Central Committee and personal greetings on behalf of Comrade Todor Zhivkov to the delegates. He urged the delegates to increase the sociopolitical upsurge and pointed out the necessity of intensifying the vanguard role of communists in order to transform ideological work into a permanent factor of restructuring.

At its first plenum the elected oblast BCP committee elected Nikola Tsonev as first secretary of the Lovech Oblast BCP Committee. Gencho Popov, Dimitur Balukov, and Stoyno Stoynov were elected secretaries.

Oblast BCP Conferences Open in Razgrad, Lovech

AU041116 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian
1000 GMT 4 Dec 87

[Text] In Razgrad and Lovech today constituent conferences of the oblast BCP organizations are being held.

Our correspondent reports from Razgrad that Petur Petrov, first secretary of the oblast BCP committee, made an in-depth analysis in his report of the need to implement qualitatively new growth in the development of the oblast's economy during the 5-year-plan period. He stressed that the party committees must intensify their control and increase their strictness in establishing the self-management of the municipalities and in overcoming the shortcomings in the intensification of industry and in the sectors that are of strategic importance for the region, namely electronics, heavy and agricultural machine building, and grain production. In this context, the speaker further stressed, the forms and means of ideological work must create all necessary conditions for the universal strengthening of democracy among the basic labor collectives.

Comrade Yordan Yotov is taking part in the conference's work.

The conference is continuing with speeches by the delegates.

Our Lovech correspondent reports that the constituent conference of the oblast BCP organization is continuing. Taking part are Comrade Petur Mladenov and 655 delegates, as well as veterans of the resistance movement, notable labor figures, and guests from Sofia and the municipalities.

Nikola Tsonev, first secretary of the oblast BCP committee, presented a report on the main directions in which the oblast party organization is working in order to implement the decisions of the 13th BCP Congress and the subsequent party plenums. He pointed out that in Lovech Oblast the 109,000 Communists are actively working to put the party's plans into practice. The speaker stressed that the oblast possesses considerable natural resources; the oblast makes up 13 percent of the country's area and produces 13.5 percent of the national income. In Pleven, Veliko Turnovo, and other municipalities major plants have been constructed for machine building, electronics, the chemical and the food and tobacco industries, but these plants are still in debt toward the national economy. He expressed confidence that the party organizations would further rally the Communists and workers to attain further socio-economic progress in Lovech Oblast.

The conference is continuing with speeches by the delegates.

Status Report on Observance of Temperance Law

AU021249 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO
in Bulgarian 1 Dec 87 p 2

[Plamen Enchev report from Sofia: "There Are No Breaches. But the Drinking Continues..."—date of report not given]

[Excerpt] A year has elapsed since the decision of the Politburo of the BCP Central Committee on limiting the use of alcohol and Decree No 67 of the Council of Ministers. What can be observed in Sofia?

—Stricter control has been implemented on observance of the regulations for restricting the sale and consumption of spirits.

—The Sofia City Administration of the Ministry of Internal Affairs has carried out over 4,000 inspections and compiled 2,055 reports.

—During the first 10 months of 1987 171 fewer persons received treatment in the sobering-up stations than in the same period of 1986.

However:

—An alarming increase has occurred in the percentage of grievous crimes against the person committed under the influence of alcohol.

—Taken as a whole, there has been an increase in the number of persons landing in the sobering-up stations following the use of alcohol in drinking establishments.

—Preventative work in the areas where people live is poorly developed, and so-called "home drunkenness" is on the increase.

—There are also problems at the city's psychoneurological dispensary: there is a shortage of beds, and at present 8 people are awaiting their turn for treatment at the Sukhodol Clinic.

—No method can yet be found for dealing with the 160 or so homeless alcoholics without families who spend the night in huts, trailers, and derelict houses, and who are seriously ill. It is necessary to think about finding a more suitable form for the settlement of such citizens as regards everyday life and work, and for them to be treated through the setting up of a specialized workmen's hostel.

I discovered all this at the Sofia City Administration of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, on the day when a check was carried out in the capital on the observance of Decree No.67 of the Council of Ministers on restricting the use of alcohol. [passage omitted]

Leaders' Appearances 29 Nov-5 Dec

AU052115 [Editorial Report] Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian in its newcasts, the Sofia press, and BTA during the monitoring period from 29 November through 5 December report the following public appearances of Bulgarian leaders (source line of each report given in parentheses):

Georgi Atanasov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Council of Ministers, received in Sofia on 1 December the leaders of delegations to the meeting of the CEMA Permanent Commission on Cooperation in Light Industry (Sofia BTA in English 1921 GMT 1 Dec 87). In Sofia on 4 December

Atanasov received Georgiy Kolmogorov, chairman of the USSR State Committee of standards (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 4 Dec 87), and Stilianos Papthemelis, minister for Northern Greece (Sofia BTA in English 1905 GMT 4 Dec 87). On 5 December Atanasov met with the students and staff of Sofia's Kliment Okhridski University (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 5 Dec 87).

Chudomir Aleksandrov, Politburo member and secretary of the BCP Central Committee, left for Paris on 30 November at the head of a BCP delegation to the PCF Congress (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 30 Nov 87).

Milko Balev, Politburo member and secretary of the BCP Central Committee, attended a reception given in Sofia on 30 November by the ambassador of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen to mark his country's national day (Sofia *Rabotnichesko Delo* in Bulgarian 1 Dec 87 p 2). In Plovdiv on 4 December Balev met with the students and staff of the university there (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2030 GMT 4 Dec 87).

Ognian Doynov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo, met with the students and staff of the Higher Mechanical and Electrical Engineering Institute in Varna on 3 December (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2030 GMT 3 Dec 87).

Army General Dobri Dzhurov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and minister of national defense, spoke at an army BCP conference on 29 November (Sofia *Narodna Armiya* in Bulgarian 30 Nov 87 p 2).

Grisha Filipov, Politburo member and secretary of the BCP Central Committee, met with the students and staff of the Higher Mechanical and Electrical Engineering Institute in Gabrovo on 3 December (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2030 GMT 3 Dec 87).

Pencho Kubadinski, member of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the National Front National Council, met with the students and staff of the Lenin institute in Sofia on 2 December (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2030 GMT 2 Dec 87).

Petur Mladenov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and minister of foreign affairs, attended a constituent conference of the oblast BCP organization in Lovech on 4 December (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 4 Dec 87).

Stanko Todorov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the National Assembly, met with the students and staff of the Karl Marx Higher Economics Institute in Sofia on 3 December (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2030 GMT 3 Dec 87). In

Sofia on 4 December Todorov attended a national day reception at the Finnish Embassy (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2030 GMT 4 Dec 87).

Yordan Yotov, Politburo member and secretary of the BCP Central Committee, made a speech at an accountability-election meeting of the municipal BCP organization in Kurdzhali on 30 November, and later on the same day opened a new supermarket in Kurdzhali (Sofia *Rabotnichesko Delo* in Bulgarian 1 Dec 87 p 2). In Sofia on 3 December Yotov met with the students and staff of the Higher Institute of Fine Arts (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2030 GMT 3 Dec 87). In Razgrad on 4 December Yotov attended the constituent conference of the oblast BCP organization (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 4 Dec 87).

Petur Dyulgerov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Central Council of Bulgarian Trade Unions, chaired a Bulgarian Trade Union Central Council plenum held in Sofia on 1 December (Sofia *Trud* in Bulgarian 2 Dec 87 pp 1, 2). On the same day, Dyulgerov also had a meeting in Sofia with a visiting FDGB delegation (Sofia *Trud* in Bulgarian 2 Dec 87 p 1, 2). He completed talks with the FDGB delegation in Sofia on 3 December (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 3 Dec 87).

Grigor Stoichkov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo, returned to Sofia on 2 December from a working visit to the USSR to discuss gas supplies (Sofia BTA in English 1409 GMT 2 Dec 87). On 5 December Stoichkov met with the students and staff of the Higher Finance and Economics Institute in Svishtov (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 5 Dec 87).

Dimitur Stoyanov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and minister of internal affairs, took part in an accountability-election meeting of

the municipal BCP organization in Dimitrovgrad on 2 December (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 2 Dec 87). On 4 December in Sofia he met with the students and staff of the Georgi Dimitrov Higher Institute of the Ministry of Internal Affairs (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2030 GMT 4 Dec 87).

Georgi Yordanov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee and minister of culture, science, and education, attended the opening in Sofia on 1 December of an international conference on aesthetic education in Bulgaria (Sofia BTA in English 1946 GMT 1 Dec 87). In Sofia on 3 December Yordanov had talks with Stilianos Papatthemelis, the minister for Northern Greece (Sofia BTA in English 1919 GMT 3 Dec 87). On 4 December Yordanov attended the national day reception at the Finnish Embassy in Sofia (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2030 GMT 4 Dec 87). In Sofia on the same day Yordanov received a French publisher, Eric Bachet (Sofia BTA in English 1845 GMT 4 Dec 87).

Stoyan Mikhaylov, secretary of the BCP Central Committee, met with the students and staff of the State Conservatory in Sofia on 4 December (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2030 GMT 4 Dec 87). In Sofia on the same day he received a delegation from the Workers Party of Korea headed by Kang Sok-sung (Sofia BTA in English 1900 GMT 4 Dec 87).

Dimitur Stanishev, secretary of the BCP Central Committee, also attended the PDRY ambassador's national day reception in Sofia on 30 November (Sofia *Rabotnichesko Delo* in Bulgarian 1 Dec 87 p 2).

Vasil Tsanov, secretary of the BCP Central Committee, met with the students and staff of the Higher Agricultural Institute in Plovdiv on 3 December (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2030 GMT 3 Dec 87).

Husak Receives New Soviet Forces Commanders
LD071438 Prague Domestic Service in Czech
1400 GMT 7 Dec 87

[Text] Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and president of the Republic, received in Prague Castle today Colonel General Viktor Yermakov, commander of the Central Group of Soviet Forces in Czechoslovakia, in connection with his departure from Czechoslovakia.

At the meeting Gustav Husak, president of the Republic, presented Col Gen Viktor Yermakov with the Order of the Red Banner which has been awarded to him for merit in strengthening and developing internationalist ties between the peoples of the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia and mutual cooperation between the Soviet Army and Czechoslovakia and mutual cooperation between the Soviet Army and the Czechoslovak People's Army. He also thanked him for passing on his experiences of guiding and training troops and wished him every success in his future work.

In reply Col Gen Viktor Yermakov thanked the CPCZ Central Committee, the Federal Government, and the president of the Republic personally for the distinction granted him by the award of this high Czechoslovak order, and for the attention which the Czechoslovak party and state bodies pay to the Central Group of Soviet Forces.

At the same time Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and president of the Republic, received Lieutenant General (Eduard Vorobyev), newly appointed commander of the Central Group of Soviet Forces in Czechoslovakia, to whom he wished every success in his forthcoming activity.

Commentary Views U.S. Political Climate
LD060057 Prague Domestic Service in Czech
1730 GMT 5 Dec 87

[Petr Lukes commentary]

[Text] Is this climate favorable for the signing of the Soviet-U.S. agreement? Unquestionably. This has been confirmed by commentaries on both sides. It is, however, equally certain that forces continue to exert influence in the top U.S. political arena that are fundamentally opposed to this agreement and which in general are against any negotiations with the Soviet Union that would generate arms reduction or arms control. Five Republican politicians, who are seeking nomination for the United States presidency, voiced themselves critically and negatively against the agreement on the elimination of two classes of nuclear arms now prepared. The treaty is defended by a sole candidate, though the most important one—Vice President George Bush.

Supporters of neoconservatism in the United States are sounding the alarm and stepping up hysterical attacks whose target has become for the first time Ronald Reagan, the president himself. Representatives of the American right talk about the coming talks as about a new Pearl Harbor or even new Munich. Howard Phillips, cochairman of the newly formed reactionary Alliance Against Concessions said literally: It is tragic that we have a President who turned himself into a tool of Soviet propaganda. Officials of this reactionary alliance have promised that they will strive to ensure that the Senate does not ratify the treaty on the elimination of the medium- and shorter-range missiles. But their concern that they will not succeed in their campaign in winning the necessary 34 votes against the treaty indicate what kind of minority opponents of disarmament have found themselves in even in the United States.

President Reagan himself has now spoken against them. What a change has taken place in his thinking. He himself has said: Since the time I delivered the speech about the evil empire—this is how Reagan described the Soviet Union some time ago—I have not changed. But what has therefore compelled the U.S. President to agree to sign the prepared treaty? Perhaps we shall find his answer in his criticism of the opponents of Soviet-U.S. talks made in a television interview yesterday. He declared that in their deepest thoughts they have accepted the view that a war between the superpowers is inevitable. In other words, even President Reagan is now convinced that a nuclear conflict is not inevitable and that it is possible to prevent it.

We shall not weigh up the measure of political will and energy that preceded the prepared treaty. What is certain is that the U.S. side, too, has contributed its share to the agreement to eliminate nuclear missiles and that in the United States, too, they are now thinking about the further possibilities of the nuclear disarmament process. Ronald Reagan has even expressed this in the following words: There exists a reasonably good chance that we shall make another gigantic step forward toward the elimination of nuclear weapons.

It would therefore appear, and this is a very realistic prerequisite, that sound reason has prevailed. The prepared treaty can not only open the door to new agreements and the elimination of other categories of mass destruction weapons, but can also free international relations from the fabric of old thinking, mistrust, and hostility. It would therefore appear that a victory in the political field alone is in the offing. In any case, even after the elimination of medium- and shorter-range missiles some 4,600 U.S. nuclear weapons will still remain in Western Europe alone. This is therefore above all a political and moral victory. Mankind is merely at the beginning of a long journey along which obstacles and complications will appear on more than one occasion. The activity of the neoconservative circles in the United States shows this. But the goal that lies at the end

of this journey is worth overcoming all these obstacles. Freeing this planet of nuclear weapons is the order of reason and responsibility for the fate of mankind.

Students' Message For Gorbachev, Reagan

AU071151 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
3 Dec 87 p 2

[CTK report in the "International Relations" column]

[Text] A delegation of the International Students Union headed by its chairman Josef Skala, on Wednesday [2 December] presented to Viktor Lomakin, USSR ambassador to the CSSR, and Michele Bond, secretary of the U.S. Embassy in the CSSR, a message addressed to Mikhail Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, and at the same time to U.S. President Ronald Reagan, prior to their upcoming meeting in Washington.

RUDE PRAVO on Polish Referendum

AU071152 [Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech from 1 to 3 December carries 150- to 700-word dispatches by its Warsaw correspondent Pavol Minarik and CTK on the results of the Polish referendum of 29 November.

On 1 December, on page 1, it carries a 150-word PAP-based CTK report on the official results of the referendum. On the same day, on page 7, it carries a 700-word dispatch by Pavol Minarik, entitled "The Government Did Not Win Support for Accelerating the Pace of Reform," which summarizes Polish Government spokesman Jerzy Urban's press conference of 30 November. After quoting the Polish spokesman on the Polish Government's assessment of the referendum results and on the further course of action, in view of the failure to win support of the majority of the eligible voters for the proposed reform and democratization measures, Minarik says: "The course and the results of the referendum reflect the contradictory nature of the discussions within the Polish public on the purpose of the proposed changes. Many voters hesitated to the last moment, not only whether to vote, but also how to answer the questions. Some of those having doubts about the inevitability of radical and immediate changes in the economy decided to take part in the referendum, some remained with their doubts at home. No wonder, the questions which the referendum put before them meant a hard and complicated choice for many of them. These misgivings are also shared by many young people standing at the threshold of life. This, too, may have been one of the reasons why the number of participants in the national referendum was 11 percent lower than in last year's elections to the Sejm."

On 2 December, on pages 1 and 7, RUDE PRAVO carries a 500-word Pavol Minarik Warsaw dispatch entitled "The Referendum Results Are Not a Defeat for Reforms," which provides a more detailed account of Jerzy Urban's press conference on the referendum.

Minarik reports, inter alia, that Urban was asked "whether he does not think that the results of voting might weaken the socialist partners' confidence in Poland." Urban is quoted as having replied: "I hope that our friends will not assess the results of the Polish referendum on so complex an issue as a defeat for the concept of our reforms. It would be an erroneous assessment." In addition, RUDE PRAVO on 2 December on page 7 carries a 150-word Pavol Minarik dispatch on the PZPR Central Committee Politburo session on the referendum, held on 1 December, and a 200-word unattributed report on foreign press reactions to the Polish referendum. Apart from unspecified Polish newspapers and the Hungarian daily MAGYAR HIRLAP's assessment of the referendum, the latter report also cites a L'UNITA commentary, according to which "one cannot speak unequivocally of defeat, even though the government did not exactly fare well in the referendum."

On 3 December, on page 7, RUDE PRAVO carries a 300-word "zr"-signed Warsaw dispatch on PAP interviews with "some well-known Polish scientists" on the referendum, as well as a 200-word CTK Warsaw dispatch on a press conference with Zdzislaw Sadowski, deputy chairman of the Polish Council of Ministers, held in Warsaw on 2 December.

Fojtik Addresses Rally at Nanterre, France

AU071457 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 5 Dec 87
p 7

[Milan Madr, Stanislav Stepanek Paris dispatch: "Room Even for Polemics"]

[Excerpts] Paris—[passage omitted] On Friday [4 December] evening, the CPCZ delegation attending the 26th PCF Congress took part in an international solidarity meeting at Nanterre on the outskirts of Paris. [passage omitted] Comrade Jan Fojtik, the delegation head, said in his speech that he wished the French Communists from the bottom of his heart the fulfillment of all the great targets that they are setting themselves in the spirit of the congress slogan to strengthen the party's positions in the French society, in the interest of profound social changes, for justice, freedom, and peace.

He went on to stress that the CPCZ and the PCF are linked by a tradition of long-standing friendship and international solidarity. This tradition rests on solid foundations, which had been laid by patriots, revolutionaries, and internationalists such as Maurice Thorez and Klement Gottwald. I would like to assure you, Comrade Fojtik said, that we on our part will do everything for this friendship and traditional cooperation to grow further in strength, for our current and future relations to develop in harmony with the interests of our and your country, in accordance with the needs of the struggle for social justice in the world.

Speaking about developments in present-day Czechoslovakia, he stressed that it is a country which is developing successfully in the spirit of restructuring, with the aim of making maximum use of all the advantages of socialism. He went on to recall that we shall celebrate the 40th anniversary of victorious February next year. He said that it is with pride that we look on the 40 years of our country's socialist development. It has been a complicated yet successful epoch. We also went through a period of crisis in the late sixties when socialism was in jeopardy and effective measures had to be taken to defend it. We are glad that this is a matter of the past. Now we are primarily looking ahead.

In concluding, he conveyed to the French Communists wishes of many successes in the struggle for the future of France and wishes of many personal successes to those present. His speech was rewarded by cordial applause.

Further on Vaclavik Visit to India

Reviews Trip

LD042153 Prague CTK in English 1535 GMT
4 Dec 87

[Text] New Delhi Dec 4 (CTK)—Czechoslovak defence minister Army General Milan Vaclavik today described his four-day visit to India as beneficial, adding that it produced new stimuli for developing bilateral cooperation.

In an interview for CTK before his departure from India, General Vaclavik said he had talks with Indian Defence Minister Krishna Chandra Pant and other military officials, which were conducted in a friendly and frank atmosphere. He said Indian military representatives regarded the visit as a significant impulse for boosting friendly relations.

General Vaclavik said he also met executives of the BEL Company electrical engineering plant in Bangalore producing also equipment for the defence of the country.

He added that the visit has manifested India's interest in development relations with Czechoslovakia, based on friendship and bilaterally advantageous cooperation.

Delegation Leaves India for Libya

LD051744 Prague Domestic Service in Czech
1100 GMT 5 Dec 87

[Text] The delegation of the Czechoslovak People's Army, headed by Army General Milan Vaclavik, minister of the national defense, left India by air today for Libya. During its stay in India it had talks with Minister of Defence Krishna Chandra Pant and leading officials of the Indian armed forces. The delegation also got acquainted with some aspects of training and life of the Indian troops.

CPCZ Delegation Returns From Japan

AU071414 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
5 Dec 87 p 2

["Z"-signed report: "Return from Japan"]

[Text] Prague (z)—A CPCZ delegation led by Miroslav Slavik, member of the CPCZ Central Committee and leading secretary of the South Bohemia CPCZ Regional Committee, returned from Japan on Friday [4 December]. At the invitation of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Japan, it participated in the 13th congress of that party in the city of Atami.

Charter 77 'Peaceful Rally' Banned

AU052135 Paris AFP in English 2125 GMT 5 Dec 87

[Text] Prague, Nov 5 (AFP)—A "peaceful rally" by Charter 77, the Czechoslovak human rights movement, scheduled for Thursday was banned by authorities here Saturday, dissident sources announced.

Police told the signatories of a charter call for a demonstration on the U.N. International Human Rights Day the rally was not authorized, a dissident told Agence France-Presse.

Local authorities argued that Charter 77 was not legally recognized and public order could therefore not be maintained by the movement.

A ban had been expected by the movement and a charter spokesman had said earlier, "people have to decide for themselves if they want to participate in the gathering" if it was not authorized.

The demonstration would be the first public gathering of the human rights movement since it was founded.

Calls for Protests

AU071154 Vienna KURIER in German 5 Dec 87 p 3

["Exclusive" report by Wolfgang Broer: "CSSR: For the First Time Charter 77 Calls for Protests"]

[Text] In our neighboring country, the CSSR, resistance is surfacing—although in a much more subdued and limited way than in Poland—against the economic reform ordered from "above" and against continued repression. Kurier received this exclusive information from Prague.

For the first time the Charter 77 civil rights movement has called for a public demonstration in the Old Town Square in Prague at 1700 on 10 December, International Human Rights Day. It is planned to demand the release of the political prisoners. The decision for the protest campaign was made last weekend. Permission by the authorities has been applied for.

Charter 77 has had a study compiled by economic experts of the Dubcek era and by still active economists, who want to remain anonymous. It deals with the economic reforms worked out by the regime, some of which will come into force as early as January 1988.

The verdict of the experts is devastating. Former CSSR Vice Premier Ota Sik, for instance, says he does not see any chance that the economic reform decided by the regime will reach its goals. The entire system has to be changed.

Vladimir Kadlec, former rector of Prague's Economic University, asks: "Are those who have caused the current disintegration of the economy really capable of overcoming the present critical situation?"

University teacher Rudolf Zukal formulates even more harshly: "The proposals for economic reform put up for discussion by the government are nothing other than an imbecile deception and a useless campaign to fake activity." And he continues in his report: "It is impossible to change those mechanisms that have brought the country to the brink of destruction with isolated measures."

According to his own words, former Vice Premier Ota Sik is ready "at any time" to submit his arguments to the Prague leadership in a public debate and he would even be willing to come to a television studio in Prague, regardless of the personal risk involved.

Emigre Economist Ota Sik Attacked

AU071520 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 4 Dec 87
p 5

[Marie Boudova article: "What Can and What Cannot Be Compared; The Experience From the Crisis Period Is a Topically Valid Lesson For Us"—boldface passages as published]

[Excerpts] The extent of the changes that our economic mechanism is to undergo affect the politics, culture, and life of the entire society. It is only natural that the process of change begins with the economy: the general social development depends on its prosperity. Production is not only an instrument for satisfying the material needs of individuals and the whole, it also is a place where fundamental interests are being created and unified. [passage omitted]

It is quite natural that today, being at a higher level of economic development [than in 1968], when we are setting new tasks for ourselves in the restructuring of the economic mechanism, some people (people who are honorable, who are honestly trying to grasp contexts, but also people who are trying to be a parasite on our changes) are comparing the party's endeavor after the session of the CPCZ Central Committee in January 1968 with today's efforts and search.

There is no doubt that there are identical events in this search today and at the turn from 1967 to 1968, but there also are phenomena that are not comparable at all. The purpose of January 1968 was to critically reassess the preceding period, eliminate obstacles, errors, and deformations in the interest of our society's better development, it was a search for more effective ways of development. This, in a nutshell, is also the purpose of the present-day search. [passage omitted]

What is, however, absolutely beyond comparison is the following: the party's programmatic effort of January 1968 was misused by the then-existing revisionist, right wing-oriented groups in the party and outside it, groups which during the second half of the 1960's and, in particular, in 1968, gained influential positions and created a distinct political force.

It was, in its way, a tragedy that precisely these people—as subsequent developments showed—who were striving for revenge for February 1948, participated in the preparation of documents to help restore our national economy to health. The revisionist group headed by O. Sik came forward, step by step, with a concept that sought to disrupt the structure of economic management of the socialist system of planning and weaken the positions of party organizations in enterprises. At the same time, a wave of social demagoguery was being instigated, of unrestrained pressure for wage increases, which were enforced regardless of their impact on production, often with the threat of "wildcat" strikes. All that created inflationary pressures and threatened to disrupt the economy. At the same time, it was being demagogically asserted that a big dollar loan was the only salvation from economic catastrophe.

The implementation of this concept in practice aimed, in essence, at abolishing all central management agencies, at totally refuting the role of the plan, at separating economic management from political decisionmaking and, as a consequence, at eliminating all-people's [vselidove] ownership. [passage omitted]

The course of "Spring 1968" clearly proved that the right wing forces in our society, supported by counterrevolutionary forces on an international scale, launched on our political scene a struggle for the return to the pre-February and, in fact, to the prewar conditions.

The realization of the "market model"—essentially to make a fetish of the market, at the same time assumed that regulatory functions would be taken over by it—even as regards its crucial proportions. [passage omitted]

Some elements of this "model" were speedily realized; others were in the planning stage. But this was only the first step. THE NEW YORK TIMES wrote in 1968: "...a cautious attempt at leaving the Soviet economic sphere must become the second round of the struggle." And THE WASHINGTON DAILY NEWS, too, tried to

predict: "Czechoslovakia is tearing itself away from Moscow, and the United States would like to do all it can to help this country wrest itself away from Soviet influence."

How? Sik had this figured out also. With the help of a dollar loan. [passage omitted]

Later, when an emigree, Sik openly admitted the purpose of his plans, which allegedly—as he writes in one of his books—he could not openly "drum out." He had to assert them in a roundabout way so as not to "frighten" anybody. He asserts that, allegedly, he did not want to take the "capitalist path," but he also refused, as he admitted, the "socialist path." He was, allegedly, searching for a "third path of development." [passage omitted]

One American radio station last week broadcast an interview with an economist introduced as an exponent of "Spring 1968." His theoretical-practical abilities have already shown themselves to be inadequate once before. Today—when, by coincidence, these people too are trying to find, in the process of social and economic restructuring, features that are identical to their efforts in 1968—are of the opinion that we, allegedly, cannot do without them. They, allegedly, know how to go about it.

The aforementioned "economist" said: "Therefore I regard the most important noneconomic prerequisite to be the fact that restructuring ought to be carried out by people who have the necessary professional and moral qualifications, of course, provided these people—with the political regime remaining unchanged—are at all willing to assume such a task..."

We are absolutely certain that "they will not be willing." And our society will not even give them this chance. We have no intention of changing the political system. With this we already have our own, and a fairly bitter, experience. And we know for sure: these people, who pretend to identify themselves with the planned restructuring, are comparing something that absolutely cannot be compared.

Government Discusses Economic Development

LD041157 Prague Domestic Service in Czech
1800 GMT 3 Dec 87

[Text] A session of the federal government today discussed the development of the national economy this year, and provisions for the fulfillment of next year's planned tasks. It noted that despite a series of measures, tasks of intensifying the national economy are not being fulfilled, and this is reflected in material provision for the production sector, and in disproportions and a growth in undesirable stocks. There are problems in the quantity and structure of supplies to the domestic market which, in conjunction with the faster growth of incomes, means that consumer demand is not being met in certain types of product. Fulfillment of capital construction and foreign trade plans is in jeopardy. It is apparent that the tasks set by the government during its assessment of the half-year's results

in the development of the national economy are still not being implemented; according to these plans, the industrial sectors, manufacturing concerns, and enterprises were to have worked out organizational, technical, and economic measures aimed at fulfilling the plan and making good the shortfalls in output and profits, and at maintaining the planned growth of wages.

Going on to discuss issues of providing for the implementation of next year's plan, the government reiterated that the management activity of the industrial sectors and manufacturing enterprises have to focus consistently on overcoming this year's problems and shortcomings, and on ensuring the fulfillment of next year's planned tasks and intentions, particularly with regard to provision of materials and equipment, and supplies for export and the home market. Proposals which, instead of seeking ways of intensifying production, call for the revision or, as in some cases, even the reduction of planned tasks below this year's level, must be rejected.

The government also discussed a proposal for improving services and restructuring their economic mechanism. It proceeds from the basis that despite certain positive results, the tasks arising from the sixth session of the CPCZ Central Committee in 1982 have not been fully implemented, and a fundamental qualitative improvement in the development of services still has not occurred. The range, quality, accessibility, and promptness of services does not correspond to the people's needs or the level of maturity of the Czechoslovak economy. In 1985, services accounted for about 40 percent of total employment, which is roughly 20 percent lower than in economically mature countries. Consequently, the government approved rules for the economic mechanism of local production and service enterprises for 1988-1990, the principles for restructuring the economic mechanism in local production and services, and material and systemic measures to create the conditions for restructuring and further raising the output of paid services. The rules for the economic mechanism are to take effect from 1 January 1988 in local production and service enterprises. During the course of the year, the chairmen of the regional national committees and the mayors of Prague and Bratislava, will, on the basis of analyses of the existing organizational structures of local production and service enterprises, make changes aimed at providing maximum satisfaction of requirements in the services sector.

The draft principles of a social security bill to be presented to the Federal Assembly were approved. The bill is based on the conclusions of the 17th CPCZ Congress and the resolution of the party Central Committee Presidium, the federal government, the Central Trade Union Council presidium and the Presidium of the Socialist Youth Union Central Committee passed in April this year aimed at increasing all paid pensions on a differentiated basis from 1 October 1988, and also at enhancing the principle of merit in allocating new pensions. The existing well-proven and familiar system of pension provision—the classification of occupations

into one of three work categories, the age limit for old-age pension entitlement, the conditions for working up the stipulated number of years for pension entitlement, the percentage increase for length of service, and the conditions for the continuing employment of persons of pensionable age—is being retained. On the other hand, two fundamental negative aspects of the existing social security law—the disproportional erosion of pension levels as compared with previous wages and the consequent weakening of the influence of merit from the period of paid employment on the level of pensions of workers with average and higher earnings, and the discrepancies arising in paid pensions between pensions granted at different times—will be eliminated. The government stressed that this important social measure costs a considerable amount of money, and therefore its implementation depends on achieving the planned growth in national revenue and labor productivity, and on the fulfillment of other tasks crucial for generating resources for the development of production and for satisfying the needs of society.

CP Presidium Discusses Economic Restructuring
LD042350 Prague CTK in English 1950 GMT
4 Dec 87

[Text] Prague Dec 4 (CTK)—The Czechoslovak Communist Party Presidium met today to discuss a draft Central Committee resolution on carrying out a comprehensive restructuring of the economic mechanism.

The presidium reviewed the results of the public debate on the draft bills on state enterprises, on farming, housing, consumer and producer cooperatives, stating the debate, in which 80,000 suggestions were used to amend the draft bill on state enterprises, 14,000 to the draft bill on farming cooperatives and over 8,000 to the draft bill on the other cooperatives, has contributed significantly to the development of democratic features of life of the Czechoslovak society and helped improve the draft bills.

The majority of the proposals and suggestions in the course of the debate expressed full support for the draft bills as well as for the overall aims of the economic reform.

On the agenda of the session was also the orientation of party propaganda. The Presidium stressed it must focus on explaining the tasks and goals of the economic reform and of the democratization of society.

The Presidium appreciated the importance of a recent visit to India by a Federal Assembly delegation for the development of friendly relations between the two countries. It was also briefed on the visit to Czechoslovakia by West German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher, and stated that it boosted constructive cooperation between the two countries.

SFRY's Mikulic Arrives, Met by Stoph
*LD070938 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 0912 GMT 7 Dec 87*

[Text] Berlin, 7 Dec (ADN)—Branko Mikulic, chairman of the SFRY's FEC, has arrived in Berlin today for an official friendship visit to the GDR. He is responding to an invitation by Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR's Council of Ministers, who warmly welcomed his guest at Berlin's Schoenefeld Airport. There was a military ceremony in honor of the Yugoslav head of government. Members of the state and party leadership were there to meet him.

Honecker Greets SFRY Leaders on National Day
*AU011021 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND
in German 28-29 Nov 87 pp 1,2*

["Congratulations to the Fraternal Peoples of Yugoslavia; Telegram From Erich Honecker to Belgrade on National Day"]

[Text] Berlin (ND)—Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, has sent the following congratulatory telegram to Bosko Kronic, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, and Lazar Mojsov, president of the SFRY Presidency:

Esteemed Comrades: On the occasion of SFRY National Day I convey most cordial greetings and congratulations to the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee, the SFRY Presidency, the fraternal Yugoslav peoples, and to you personally on behalf of the SED Central Committee, the GDR State Council, and of the people of the GDR, as well as on my own behalf.

The victory in the heroic struggle for national and social liberation against fascism and reaction opened up new prospects to the peoples of Yugoslavia. In an historically short time decisive political, economic, and social changes were completed in socialist construction under the leadership of the LCY. We value the significant role which the SFRY plays in international relations and particularly in the Nonaligned Movement.

It gives us sincere pleasure that the friendly relations between our parties, states, and peoples are developing dynamically and show a high level in all areas in the 30th year since the commencement of diplomatic relations. We assure you that we will continue to do everything to deepen constantly and to shape increasingly closely the comprehensive and fruitful cooperation between the SED and LCY and between the GDR and SFRY to the benefit of our peoples, in the interest of peace, of social progress, and of socialism in the world.

I wish the Communists and all working people in Yugoslavia much success in the implementation of the resolutions of the 13th LCY Congress.

Esteemed Comrades, please accept my best wishes for creative energy, health, and well-being.

Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council.

Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, congratulated Branko Mikulic, president of the SFRY FEC, on the same occasion.

Fischer Speaks on Significance of INF Treaty
*LD272015 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1429 GMT 27 Nov 87*

[Text] Berlin, 27 Nov (ADN)—GDR Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer spoke about the international situation and the GDR's contribution to peace and international security to students and teaching staff at the "Karl Marx" party college of the SED Central Committee on Friday.

Oskar Fischer said that the international situation is still tense. A new, positive trend in the debate about war and peace is becoming increasingly evident, however. This is determined by the peace and disarmament initiative—unprecedented in range and tempo—of the states of the socialist states and the increasing worldwide dedication of the forces of realism and reason. A visible expression of this was the agreement in principle between the USSR and the United States on a treaty for the global elimination of nuclear medium-range missiles by both sides. This first real measure for disarmament in weapons of nuclear mass destruction could introduce a change in international developments.

For this to happen there must be no let-up in efforts for the ratification and implementation of the agreement and for more far-reaching steps in other spheres, for example a 50 percent reduction of strategic offensive weapons.

Oskar Fischer underlined the GDR's constructive role in bringing about the agreement. It will now, as stated in Erich Honecker's statement on the result of the meeting of the foreign ministers of the Soviet Union and the United States in Geneva, work with equal vigor for its fulfillment.

The GDR is making an active contribution, within the framework of the coordinated peace policy of the socialist community of states to a climate of security and trust in the heart of Europe. The GDR is thus demonstrating that it regards peace as the measure of all things. The basis of the GDR's successful foreign policy is the stable and dynamic development of the national economy. Under the slogan "My workplace is my battlefield for peace", the GDR working people are placing their high labor performances at the service of the struggle for lasting peace.

Krenz Welcomes U.S.-USSR Missiles Treaty
LD281756 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1257 GMT 28 Nov 87

[Excerpt] Frankfurt/Oder, 28 Nov (ADN)—At a combat group conference held by the SED Frankfurt/Oder bezirk executive on Saturday a successful balance was drawn of the training year now ending. The 600 participants warmly welcomed Egon Krenz, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee. He conveyed the thanks of the SED Central Committee and of its general secretary, Erich Honecker, chairman of the GDR State Council and the National Defense Council.

Krenz paid tribute to the agreement in principle between the USSR and the United States on a treaty for the worldwide elimination of their medium-range missiles. He referred to the statement made by Erich Honecker that the GDR contributed to the current agreement and will now do everything in its power to implement it and regards the agreement as a breakthrough to further disarmament steps. This, the speaker said, is the logical consequence of the conclusion reached at the seventh plenum of the SED Central Committee in November 1983 to mobilize right now of reason and realism against the missile deployment that had started. [passage omitted]

Arms Industry Conversion Explained
DW301405 East Berlin Domestic Service
in German 1200 GMT 29 Nov 87

[From the "Replies to Listeners' Questions" program]

[Excerpts] A listener wants to know what the term conversion means related to the arms industry and its development possibilities. Heinz Winter answers:

[Passage omitted] [Winter] The crucial issue is whether in the nuclear-cosmic age it is possible in the interest of mankind's survival to convert military production into civilian production. For us in the socialist countries it is a problem involving many consequences for the economic and scientific structure, the retraining of personnel, and so forth. However, it is a feasible process and one we even want. Today rather than tomorrow, the Warsaw Pact would utilize all its resources and production capacities exclusively for raising the people's living standard and for ensuring for all people on this earth a materially and intellectually enjoyable existence, instead of expending them on the production of bombers, missiles, and nuclear-powered submarines. Our plan on total, phased nuclear disarmament by the year 2000 is on the table. That it is realistic, is proved by the agreement reached in recent days between the USSR and the United States on a treaty on the removal of both countries' medium-range and operational-tactical missiles.

In the imperialist camp the conversion of weapons production is entirely different and much more complicated. The interests of the military-industrial complex are still linked with the invention and production of

always new weapons, because the highest profits are made in the arms sector. Doing business in that field is lucrative, because the state appears as a large-scale customer and spends billions of tax revenues on the weapons business. As long as that works without problems, the profiteers will not consider changing to civilian production.

They claim that if they did, an economic slack would be the result, scientific-technological development would slow down, mass unemployment of a unknown degree would be the consequence, and entire industrial areas would sink into misery. However, peace research throughout the world, including in our Republic, proved long ago that the contrary is correct. Military expenditures create fewer jobs than investments in civilian branches. Japan is an example demonstrating that civil engineers are able to develop technical innovations much more effectively than engineers working in the military field. And there is one more thing. With the crash on international financial markets, something has been happening before our eyes that was touched off by the United States' huge debt as a result of its super armament, and is undercutting and deforming the functioning of the whole of the internal and international capitalist economic mechanism. The policy of stepped-up armament obviously has reached its economic limits.

Those contradictions and the fact that they are connected with the interest that monopoly capital has in survival objectively create a basis for major sectors of arms producers and consumers possibly and gradually to accept civilian production. However, until that happens, tremendous efforts and considerations marked by common sense are necessary. [passage omitted]

Official Notes Restructuring in USSR, GDR
LD272021 Hamburg DPA in German 1641 GMT
27 Nov 87

[Excerpt] Cologne (DPA)—A representative of the GDR Government stressed in Cologne today that the policy of the GDR is though not identical, "very closely related" to the efforts to bring about restructuring by Soviet party leader Mikhail Gorbachev. Deputy Culture Minister Klaus Hoepcke said at a ceremony to mark the 30th anniversary of the Pahl-Rugenstein publishing house in Cologne that despite different nuances and points of emphasis in the political processes in the two countries, there exists a common political basis and an increasing influence from science and socialist culture "here as there". [passage omitted]

FDGB, GST Discuss Defense Tasks
AU301319 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND
in German 26 Nov 87 p 2

[Text] Potsdam (ADN)—On Wednesday [25 November] in Potsdam the Secretariats of the FDGB and of the Society for Sports and Technology [GST] held talks on the implementation of the resolutions of the 11th FDGB

Congress and of the Eighth GST Congress. The exchange of views which was jointly led by Harry Tisch, chairman of the FDGB National Executive Council and member of the SED Central Committee Politburo, and Vice Admiral Guenter Kutzschebauch, chairman of the GST Central Executive Committee, focused on the unshakable link between strong socialism and secure peace.

The chairman of the FDGB National Executive Council stressed the obligation to promote the readiness of all trade union members to protect the socialist state in a reliable manner. The trade union organizations support the reservists' collectives in leading their competition. Vice Admiral Guenter Kutzschebauch expressed thanks for the FDGB's great respect and support. He reported on the results obtained so far in the socialist "GST Task—Eighth Congress" competition. Both secretariats familiarized themselves with the GST training and education facilities, with the high level of training of the young people at the "Ernst Schneller" GST Pilot School and with the responsible activity of the trainers and the directing staff.

Honecker Congratulates Albania on National Day
AU011024 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND
in German 28-29 Nov 87 p 1-2

["Greetings on Albanian Independence Day; Erich Honecker's Congratulations Conveyed to Tirana"]

[Text] Berlin (ND)—Erich Honecker, chairman of the GDR State Council, addressed the following congratulatory telegram to Ramiz Alia, chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania:

On the occasion of the 75th anniversary of the proclamation of Albania's independence and the 43d anniversary of the liberation of the country from Fascism and the victory of the people's revolution I convey to you and the Albanian people sincere greetings and cordial congratulations on behalf of the GDR State Council and on my own behalf.

The proclamation of independence 75 years ago constitutes a historic event in the long, heroic struggle of the Albanian people for liberty, democracy, and progress. It initiated a new period in Albania's history, which culminated in the liberation of the country from Fascism and the victory of the people's revolution in 1944.

Since that time the Albanian people under the leadership of the Albanian Party of Labor have implemented profound changes in all fields of political, economic, social, and cultural life. These outstanding achievements in building the socialist society are highly appreciated by the GDR working people.

We state with pleasure that the relations between the GDR and the People's Socialist Republic of Albania are successfully developing. In the future, too, the GDR will make all efforts to extend and deepen these relations for the benefit of our peoples and in the interest of peace.

I wish you and the Albanian people with all my heart new great successes in implementing the demanding tasks of building socialism and in the struggle for permanent peace and security in the world.

Erich Honecker chairman of the GDR State Council.

On the same occasion Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, conveyed a congratulatory telegram to Adil Carcani, chairman of the Socialist People's Republic of Albania.

Axen Pays Official Visit to France

Meets With French Official

LD041036 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1812 GMT 3 Dec 87

[Text] Paris, 3 Dec (ADN)—Jean-Louis Bianco, secretary general to the president of the French Republic, and Hermann Axen, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee, met for a talk today at the residence of the French president, the Elysee Palace in Paris. With a view to the forthcoming state visit by Erich Honecker to France, the partners in the talks exchanged views on the level achieved and the prospects for the development of relations between the two states and peoples. The belief was expressed that the meeting between the highest representatives of the two states will make a positive contribution to the further improvement in the international situation, for which the forthcoming Soviet-U.S. summit will without doubt create favorable preconditions.

Taking part in the talk were GDR ambassador Alfred Marter and Jean Musitelli, diplomatic adviser in the Elysee.

Attends PCF Solidarity Rally

LD050156 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1514 GMT 4 Dec 87

[Excerpts] Paris, 4 Dec ADN—The 1,800 delegates to the 26th PCF Congress today began their discussion of the Central Committee's report and the draft resolution. [passage omitted]

This evening numerous foreign delegations were the guests of solidarity rallies of the PCF federations. At the meeting of the Paris federation, Hermann Axen, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee, conveyed the fraternal greetings from over 2

million GDR Communists. German and French Communists could look back on long-standing traditions of the joint struggle against fascism and war and knew that they were firmly allied with one another in this spirit, he said.

Today the safeguarding of peace was the highest goal of all endeavors. The SED and the PCF assessed the international situation soberly, realistically, and without illusions. The forthcoming Soviet-U.S. summit was a significant result of the fight by all peace forces. The socialist states, including the GDR, had played a large part in this success. Hermann Axen reaffirmed the SED's solidarity with the French Communists and wished them fresh successes for the cause of peace, social progress, and national independence.

Addresses PCF Congress

LD052246 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1502 GMT 5 Dec 87

[Text] Paris, 5 Dec ADN—The head of the SED delegation, Hermann Axen, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee, on Saturday conveyed to the 26th congress of the French Communist Party [PCF] in Saint-Ouen the fraternal greetings of the more than 2 million communists of the GDR and of their general secretary, Erich Honecker. In his address he said that since the founding of the PCF the militant alliance between the two parties has proved to be an important factor in the cooperation between the German and French working class. We have particular regard for your committed efforts for a world without wars and without force, for the elimination of the danger of a nuclear war, for peace and international security.

The ideas of peace put forward by the USSR and the states of the Warsaw Pact with repeated new initiatives are today becoming a material force: The third summit between Comrade Gorbachev and President Reagan will mark the historic entry into nuclear disarmament and give new strength to peace-loving people in all countries.

Actions in a coalition of peace, reason, and realism are becoming all the more necessary as the aggressive circles of NATO undertake new attacks on disarmament, Hermann Axen said.

The GDR is proving to be a reliable bastion of peace and socialism in the heart of Europe. At the center of the shaping of the developed socialist society in our country stands the wellbeing of the people, he stressed. We call this the unity of economic and social policy. The transition to the intensification of production was and is indivisibly linked with greater attention to the masses, to ever improving satisfaction of the material and cultural requirements of the people, with the unfolding of socialist democracy. The increasing mastery of the scientific and technological revolution has led to a constant increase in labor productivity and so to a higher living

standard for the people. The speaker referred to the doubling of the national income and real wages since 1971 and to full employment during the rapid application of high technologies.

Hermann Axen recalled the three bloody wars of German imperialism against France and gave an assurance: Socialist GDR is a reliable guarantee that war will never again emanate from German soil and that peace will prevail there. The guarantee lies in the dynamic development of socialism in our republic. The guarantee lies in the peace-loving foreign policy, which has been proved by the success of the official visit by Comrade Erich Honecker to the Federal Republic of Germany. The relations between the GDR and France have reached a significant level. Without doubt the first visit by the GDR State Council chairman to France at the start of January will increase the cooperation between our two states and our people and give a new impetus to peace and security.

Homann Received by Finnish Premier

AU041149 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND
in German 3 Dec 87 pp 1,2

[Text] Helsinki (ADN)—On Wednesday [2 December] Finnish Prime Minister Harri Holkeri and Heinarich Homann, deputy chairman of the GDR State Council and chairman of the National Democratic Party of Germany, assessed the trusting and expanding relations between the two countries as an exemplary and significant contribution to detente. The prime minister received the GDR politician in his office for a lively exchange of views on bilateral and international issues. Prof Homann conveyed cordial greeting to the head of government from State Council Chairman Erich Honecker and from Willi Stoph, chairman of the Council of Ministers, which were accepted with thanks and reciprocated equally cordially.

Harri Holkeri paid tribute to the GDR's full support for the Finnish initiatives aimed at creating a nuclear-free zone in northern Europe and for the confidence-building measures for the North Sea suggested by President Koivisto. Both politicians expressed the hope that the pending first real nuclear disarmament step will not be counterbalanced by armament in the sea regions.

Finland has noted with satisfaction that the 1991 CSCE follow-up meeting will be held in Helsinki, Holkeri said. He spoke in favor of extending both economic and cultural relations between the two countries. Berlin is one of Europe's cultural centers, and the Baltic Sea is Finland's link with the bordering states, he noted. In this connection he advocated increased cooperation in the sphere of environmental protection.

On the same day Prof Homann met with Ilkka Suominen, chairman of the National Coalition Party of Finland, and Mayor Raimo Ilaskivi, a leading member of this party.

SED Delegation at JCP Congress

*AU301130 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND
in German 28-29 Nov 87 p 1*

[Text] On Friday [27 November] the 18th Congress of the Communist Party of Japan continued in Atami on the Izu Peninsula with the discussion of the accountability report and other basic documents. At the end of the third conference day the heads of foreign delegations took the floor to deliver greetings addresses at meetings in all parts of central Japan.

Roland Bauer, head of the SED delegation, member of the Central Committee, made a speech in the industrial metropolis of Nagoya, the fourth largest Japanese city with more than 2 million inhabitants. He conveyed the fraternal militant greetings of the SED Central Committee, its Secretary General Erich Honecker, and all GDR communists. The GDR working people follow with interest and respect the tenacious struggle of the Japanese communists for the vital interests of the workers class and their committed activities for a world without nuclear weapons, for the elimination of the danger of a nuclear war, for a peaceful future of mankind.

Honecker Addresses State Council Session

*LD050349 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1927 GMT 4 Dec 87*

[Text] Berlin, 4 Dec ADN—In Berlin today Erich Honecker, SED general secretary and chairman of the GDR State Council, described the multifarious, responsible collaboration of citizens in the management of the state and the economy as the determining characteristic of life in socialism. He was speaking at a session of the State Council, at which the Council adopted a report by the Erfurt Area (bezirk) Assembly that sets out experience in the implementation of the course of the unity of economic and social policy and the development of socialist democracy.

Comprehensively developed socialist democracy rich in experience is a motor of economic and municipal progress. "We make the most rapid progress," the chairman of the GDR State Council said, "where the proposals and critical observations of the deputies and citizens influence state decisions and where their implementation is put swiftly into practice with all social forces."

Erich Honecker stressed: "It is necessary to promote more emphatically the direct cooperation of the working people in the solving of common tasks, to support their progressive initiatives, and to clarify their questions and concerns rapidly and convincingly. Here, criticism and self-criticism continue to be indispensable for the elimination of shortcomings in the further shaping of the developed socialist society."

Successful local government policy, Erich Honecker continued, is based on fulfilled plans. It is the foundation for the further development of social policy in the GDR.

This is why the people's representative bodies and deputies are called upon to see that there is a conscientious day-to-day plan fulfillment and to tap all resources for the realization of the economic strategy. This includes the utilization of local conditions for accelerated application of key technologies and well-thought-out local rationalization, as well as an efficient local building sector and the development of services for the population that take account of needs.

It is and will remain a firm principle of our work, Erich Honecker said in conclusion, that increasing productivity must always go hand-in-hand with the raising of the material and cultural standard of living of the people. In all sectors it is not just a case of individual top achievements but a matter of applying and achieving the best results on a broad scale.

Further on Actions Against Peace Groups

*AU271350 Vienna Domestic Service in German
1100 GMT 27 Nov 87*

[Barbara Coudenhove-Kalergi report from East Berlin]

[Text] In the past few days the police visited more than 30 of the best known members of the East Berlin peace scene, searched some apartments, disconnected telephones, and placed guards in front of the front doors. Meanwhile, those released from custody are of the opinion that the wave of arrests was intended to prevent a demonstration around the memorial guard in front of the Zion Church.

At the police station they had been requested to sign a declaration that they would not impair socialist coexistence in the future. Most of them rejected this. According to unconfirmed reports, there have also been similar incidents in Dresden, Rostock, and Halle. From the beginning the Administration of the Evangelical Church has advocated with all its power the release of the arrested persons, among whom was East Berlin youth pastor Huelsemann for a short time. East Berlin Bishop Forck negotiated personally with the authorities for hours.

In the first statement of the church administration it is said that the state only incriminated the underground newspaper produced in the Zion Church; the environmental library as such is not endangered. The declaration ended with the sentence: The parishes may staunchly stick to their testimony of peace, justice, and the preservation of the creation.

Church circles here evaluate the action as a renewed increase in the pressure on the Evangelical Church, after the State already canceled projected talks with the church administration on education and an alternative for the military service in early November. The apparent reason for this is that lately too many independent peace

groups have developed under the roof of the church and, moreover, that an all too intense spreading of Gorbachev's glasnost, to the hitherto tranquil GDR is feared.

Zion Church Trial Begins

*LD271844 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1535 GMT 27 Nov 87*

[Text] Berlin, 27 Nov (ADN)—The trial of four hooligans accused of causing serious disturbances and committing acts of violence, began at the Berlin-Mitte Municipal District Court today. At a rock concert held in the Church of Zion in the Berlin-Mitte municipal district on 17 October this year, the accused brutally attacked people attending the event. In the church grounds, and in the church, they struck participants and threw bottles into the crowd, resulting in several people being seriously injured. They also smashed church furniture.

They had earlier punched and kicked people waiting at the trolley car stop at Kastanienallee/Zionskirchstrasse, and injured them. According to the indictment, during the rioting, the hooligans constantly shouted slogans from the Nazi era, which is a punishable offense in the GDR.

The hearing of evidence is continuing. The trial will be continued at the start of next week. Representatives of the Evangelical Church are also taking part in the trial.

Two Members Released

*LD281634 Hamburg DPA in German 0919 GMT
28 Nov 87*

[Text] Berlin (DPA)—Two members of the staff of the environment library of the Zion community in East Berlin, Wolfgang Rueddenklau and Bert Schlegel, were released from custody on Saturday morning. According to informed circles in West Berlin, the police told the two men that the investigative proceedings in accordance with Paragraph 218 of the GDR Penal Code (association in pursuit of illegal aims) would continue. On Friday the GDR authorities were still refusing to release the two men because of "the danger of suppression of evidence."

According to existing information, the two church employees went to the Church of Zion and spoke to people taking part in the vigil for their release that had been taking place for nearly 3 days. Numerous rallies and demonstrations of support for the church employees had also taken place, and the federal government and the Bonn parties had called for their release.

A young man was struck by police during the vigil late on Friday evening and, according to eye-witnesses, was bundled into a car which then drove off. There is still no information about the man's whereabouts.

It was learned that the security authorities in various GDR towns, such as Erfurt, Rostock, Perleberg, Dresden, Jena, Stendal, and Weimar, also issued further "summons" for supporters of the independent environmental and peace movement on Saturday.

An ecology seminar attended by representatives of GDR environmental groups began at the Saint Elisabeth Church in the borough of Berlin-Mitte on Friday evening. The event, which had been planned a while ago, was to have taken place at the Church of Zion but was moved because of the continuing tension. Participants from a number of GDR towns arrived for the seminar despite being banned or discouraged from taking part by the police.

It was also learned in West Berlin that police checks on trains took place in this connection. Thus the transport police questioned two representatives of environmental groups, who had registered for the seminar on the Rostock-East Berlin express and confiscated two environmental pamphlets.

Public Prosecutor Protests Sentences

*LD042355 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1547 GMT 4 Dec 87*

[Text] Berlin, 4 Dec ADN—The public prosecutor's office has lodged a protest against the verdict of the Berlin-Mitte Borough Court, in which four hooligans were sentenced to between 1 and 2 years' imprisonment for their active involvement in the serious incident on 17 October 1987 in front of and in the Church of Zion in Berlin. The protest statement emphasizes that the sentences passed in no way reflect the seriousness of the crimes committed, the yelling of fascist-terrorist slogans, and the serious consequences for public order and safety. Anyone who compromises the safety provided by the law in this way must be strictly called to account.

The Berlin city court is to decide about the protest.

Action Extended Against Peace Groups

*LD272045 Hamburg DPA in German 1546 GMT
27 Nov 87*

[Excerpts] East Berlin/Bonn (DPA)—The GDR security authorities are continuing to put members of independent environmental and peace groups under pressure. Informed circles today reported further police summons in various GDR cities. [passage omitted]

According to informed circles in West Berlin, the GDR security authorities are now apparently extending their pressure also to artists. Thus, the critical balladeer Stephan Krawczyk and his wife, theater director Freya Klier, were summoned by the GDR General Public Prosecutor's Office today. During "legal instructions" they were threatened with criminal proceedings if they continue to perform their programs.

The two have been banned from public appearances for about 2 years, since when they have been able to appear only in church buildings. Recently, the state has been exerting strong pressure on the evangelical church in order to ban the artists from appearing. Several fines have been imposed on pastors who permitted Krawczyk to appear.

Of the 20 people who were temporarily detained during the campaign against the Enviroment Library and afterwards, Wolfgang Rueddenklau and Bert Schlegel, who work for the Enviroment Library, have meanwhile been taken into custody. The others have been released. [passage omitted]

Yugoslavia's Dizdarevic Visits, Holds Talks

Arrives, Meets With Officials

LD051834 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 5 Dec 87

[Text] Budapest, 5 Dec (TANJUG)—Federal Secretary for Foreign Affairs Raif Dizdarevic arrived this evening on a 2-day official friendly visit to Budapest. The high-ranking visitor from Yugoslavia was greeted at Ferihegy Airport by Peter Varkonyi, Hungarian minister of foreign affairs; Miklos Barity, one of his deputies; and other Hungarian officials. The ceremony was also attended by Milovan Zidar, Yugoslav Ambassador in Budapest, and other members of the diplomatic corps.

Official talks between the two ministers, who last met in Subotica in December last year, will begin tomorrow. *Magyar Hirlap*, a newspaper close to the government, carried a special commentary stressing that cooperation between the two countries is developing in a balanced way in all areas. Such a "diagnosis," stresses the paper, refers not only to the present, but also to the situation 3 decades ago. The "principles" which were laid down at the beginning of the sixties by Janos Kadar and Josip Broz Tito, have stood the test of time in all respects. There are no open questions between the neighbors, concludes *Magyar Hirlap*, supporting on the foreign-political plane Yugoslavia's initiative for the Balkan countries' foreign ministers' meeting, among other things.

Discussions of Detente, Peace

LD061844 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1800 GMT 6 Dec 87

["Pool" item]

[Text] Budapest, December 6 (TANJUG)—The upcoming meeting between U.S. President Ronald Reagan and Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev is conducive to a relaxation of tensions in the world and can favourably influence the elimination of crisis spots, as chief diplomats Peter Varkonyi of Hungary and Raif Dizdarevic of Yugoslavia set out in their talks were today.

Varkonyi and Dizdarevic pointed out the major role played by medium- and small-sized countries in the promotion of detente and the safeguarding of peace. Expressing interest in the activities of the non-aligned countries, especially Mediterranean, Varkonyi stressed his country's readiness to cooperate with the non-aligned wherever possible.

Varkonyi and Dizdarevic assessed Hungarian-Yugoslav relations as stable, good and friendly and as based on the well-known principles of independence, equality and mutual acknowledgement of the two countries' different international positions and different roads of socialist development.

Varkonyi and Dizdarevic set out that the Hungarian nationality in Yugoslavia and the Yugoslav Croatian, Serbian and Slovene minorities in Hungary constituted a bridge of friendship. They recalled that Hungary and Yugoslavia had raised the question of the position of national minorities, as part of the exercise of human rights, at the Vienna follow-up of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

The Hungarian and Yugoslav foreign ministers discussed the disputed Hungarian regulation under which Yugoslavs must exchange a certain amount of dinars into forints when entering Hungary. The Hungarian side stated that it did not want the issue to mar its relations with Yugoslavia and suggested that financial experts of the two countries soon resolve the problem.

Varkonyi and Dizdarevic expressed the readiness of the two countries to advance their bilateral trade, which has recorded a downward trend this year. They pointed out that it was encouraging that higher forms of economic cooperation, which guarantee stable and long-term ties, accounted for over 40 percent of the bilateral economic exchange. Hungary is Yugoslavia's third leading foreign economic partner and among the neighbouring countries. Varkonyi and Dizdarevic underscored that it was necessary to develop new forms of cooperation, including joint ventures and the founding of mixed enterprises, which will be discussed in the talks between Hungarian Deputy Prime Minister Jozsef Marjai and his Yugoslav counterpart Janez Zemljari in the Yugoslav city of Noavi Sad late next week.

Concludes Talks with Varkonyi

LD070150 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian
1800 GMT 6 Dec 87

[Text] Raif Dizdarevic, federal secretary for foreign affairs, who is on a visit to Hungary had talks today with Peter Varkonyi, the Hungarian minister of foreign affairs. Srdjan Basic, TANJUG's correspondent, reports from Budapest:

[Basic] The relations between Yugoslavia and Hungary are stable, good, and friendly, and cooperation is comprehensive. This is the conclusion of the 3 hours of talks in Budapest today conducted by Raif Dizdarevic, federal secretary for foreign affairs, and his host Peter Varkonyi, the Hungarian minister of foreign affairs.

The ministers of the two countries stressed the importance of meetings at senior and at the highest level. In this framework there was expression of the mutual interest that Branko Mikulic, the FEC president, visit Budapest in the first half of next year. It was concluded that the economic difficulties of the two countries and the negative influence of the international market should not slow bilateral trade and that the way toward the further expansion of economic cooperation, is the broadening of industrial cooperation, joint ventures, and the establishment of mixed enterprises.

Regarding international relations, Dizdarevic and Varkonyi, inter alia, assessed positively the forthcoming Soviet-U.S. summit meeting, stressing at the same time that medium-sized and small countries have a big role in the relaxation of tensions and in the preservation of world peace. Raif Dizdarevic, who ends his official and friendly visit to Hungary tomorrow, this morning laid a wreath on the Heroes' Monument in Heroes' Square in Budapest.

Soviet-Hungarian Economic Views Exchanged
LD042342 Budapest MTI in English
1603 GMT 4 Dec 87

[Text] Budapest, December 4 (MTI)—Hungarian and Soviet economists held a scientific session from November 29 to December 4 in Tallin. Participants discussed the radical transformation of the Soviet economic mechanism along with theoretical and practical issues related to the Hungarian reform process.

At the plenary session of the Hungarian and Soviet economic joint commission, views were exchanged on the mechanism of economic management and the further development of the socialist economic cooperation. The Hungarian delegation included Academician Dr Bela Csikos-Nagy, Rezso Nyers, member of the Central Committee of the HSWP, Miklos Pulai, vice-president of the National Planning Office. Headed by Academician O. Bogolomov and Y. Shiryayev, corresponding member of the academy the Soviet delegation rallied specialists involved in the elaboration of the Soviet economic reform.

Soviet Finance Minister Ends Visit
LD050024 Budapest MTI in English
1946 GMT 4 Dec 87

[Text] Budapest, December 4 (MTI)—Boris Gostev, minister of finance of the Soviet Union, held talks in Hungary December 1 to 4 on the invitation of Minister of Finance Peter Medgyessy. The talks focused on timely financial policy issues.

Boris Gostev met Karoly Grosz, chairman of the Council of Ministers, and Jozsef Marjai, deputy prime minister. At the meetings the sides discussed certain timely issues of Hungarian-Soviet relations and CMEA cooperation.

The Soviet minister of finance left Budapest Friday.

Berecz Visit to Bulgaria Reviewed
LD042346 Budapest MTI in English
1744 GMT 4 Dec 87

[Text] Budapest, December 4 (MTI)—Janos Berecz, member of the Political Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and secretary of the Central Committee, visited Bulgaria December 2-4, on the invitation of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party. Janos Berecz held talks with Yordan

Yotoc, member of the Political Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party and secretary of the Central Committee, and Stoyan Mikhailov, secretary of the Central Committee. He met Milko Balev and Grisha Filipov, members of the Political Committee and secretaries of the Central Committee, and Dimitur Stanishev, secretary of the Central Committee.

Janos Berecz briefed the representatives of the Bulgarian Communist Party on timely issues of socialist building work in progress in Hungary. He stressed that the unity and inter-relationship of the social and economic processes unavoidably necessitates to streamline the political system of institutions.

The leading personalities of the Bulgarian Communist Party informed Janos Berecz on the social-economic transformation processes in progress in Bulgaria. Both sides evaluated as favourable the cooperation of the JSWP and the Bulgarian Communist Party in the ideological field. They stressed they would place emphasis in the coming period on intensifying cooperation and the rational exploitation of the existing reserves.

Janos Berecz returned to Budapest Friday. He was met at Ferihegy Airport by Venelin Todorov Kocov, ambassador of the People's Republic of Bulgaria to Hungary.

PEC Meeting Discusses Syrian President's Visit
AU041719 Bucharest AGERPRES in English
1835 GMT 4 Dec 87

["Unanimous Approval of the Romanian-Syrian Summit Dialogue"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 4 Dec—During the 4 December meeting of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, presided over by RCP General Secretary Nicolae Ceausescu, a report was presented on the official visit paid to Romania by the secretary general of the Ba'th Arab Socialist Party, Hafiz al-Asad, president of the Syrian Arab Republic, over 30 November-2 December 1987.

The Executive Political Committee considered with satisfaction that the visit and the talks between President Nicolae Ceausescu and President Hafiz al-Asad, owing to their results go down as an important moment in the development of the friendly relations and collaboration between our parties, countries and peoples both in the bilateral plane and in the area of international life.

The importance was stressed of the understandings agreed upon at summit level regarding the intensification with joint effort of the Romanian-Syrian collaboration on multiple planes, the greater capitalization of the extant possibilities, the expansion of the domains and forms of collaboration, the expansion and diversification of commercial exchanges, in keeping with the continuously growing economic potential of the two countries. In this respect the importance was highlighted of the

accord-programme on the long-term development of the economic, technological and scientific cooperation and of the commercial exchanges between the Socialist Republic of Romania and the Syrian Arab Republic, signed by the two presidents at the conclusion of the visit. The conviction was expressed that a sustained promotion of the relations between Romania and Syria met the interest and benefited both countries and peoples, their progress and prosperity, the cause of peace, understanding and collaboration among nations.

The Executive Political Committee underscored the special significance of the exchange of views between President Nicolae Ceausescu and President Hafiz al-Asad on current issues of the international political life, which set forth the resolve of Romania and Syria to collaborate more and more tightly in the world arena, to contribute actively to the implementation of disarmament, nuclear disarmament in the first place, to settling litigious interstate issues by peaceful means, through negotiations, to the eradication of underdevelopment and to building a new international economic order, to ensuring peace on our planet.

The Executive Political Committee appreciated highly the way in which President Nicolae Ceausescu reasserted during the talks the principled, consistent stance of our country on the global, lasting and just settlement of the Middle East issues, based on the Israeli withdrawal from the occupied Arab territories, on solving the issue of the Palestinian people by acknowledging its right to self-determination and independent statehood, on ensuring security, sovereignty and integrity to all the states in the zone. On this occasion, also, the fact was considered that in light of the latest developments there is a need for efforts to be intensified for the organization, in a nearest future, of an international peace conference in the Middle East, under UN aegis, with the participation of all parties concerned, inclusive of the Palestine Liberation Organization—as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people—and Israel and the permanent members of the Security Council.

Approving unanimously the results of the visit, the Executive Political Committee asked the government, the ministries and the other central bodies to take all the due measures and work for the implementation of the accords and understandings reached, for the ever wider development of the Romanian-Syrian collaboration.

NATO Defense Ministers Session Analyzed

*LD041350 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 2120 GMT 3 Dec 87*

[Janos Avar commentary on the "Ten Minutes of Foreign Politics" program]

[Text] The king is dead, long live the king; the arms race has been curbed, long live the arms race. The NATO Defense ministers in essence gave their blessing to the missile agreement that had reached, what is more, even

to the strategic agreement being prepared, and then, at the same time, they expressed their determination to develop their military capacities.

The Brussels talks at the beginning of the week—because the European member-states first held separate discussions—clearly indicated the dilemmas of the leading Atlantic circles for military affairs, the chiefs-of-staffs and defense ministers, put considerable emphasis on the defense affairs of the alliance. After all, this is their task. According to the official title of their functions, they are not ministers of war but ministers of defense, and luckily, they only venture along the path of war in their imaginations.

They do not, on the other hand, have to exhibit a belligerent style, even if no one expects the military man to demonstrate political subtlety. That will be the business of the foreign ministers, who will be holding their customary end-of-year Brussels conference next week. However, Europe, awaiting the elimination of missiles, can rightly be taken aback by the fact that our continent received little encouragement from the just-ended conference relating to a diminishing of the armament burden that it carries.

The defense ministers were most concerned with how to urgently substitute for the means that are now to be eliminated. Frank Carlucci, the head of the Pentagon, who was appearing for the first time among his colleagues in this capacity, could feel satisfaction in putting the communique in his attache case, since the communique offers NATO approval to the Soviet-U.S. treaty to be signed next Tuesday. This is an indispensable prop for the ratification debate, which is expected to be a heated one. After all, the right-wing opponents of the treaty in the Senate like to refer to the disquiet felt in Europe. In a sense, Carlucci was given ammunition for strengthening the pragmatists in Washington, and the same will be given to George Shultz at the end of next week.

The Atlantic worries, however, have remained. It is a particular feature of the NATO ritual that Carlucci's European counterparts express their doubts in relation to Washington's policy by referring to a Soviet superiority. Those who are criticizing the missile agreement being prepared have never regarded the Pershing and cruise missiles as bargaining chips. Rather, by deploying these weapons the United States was trying to demonstrate its reliability; their withdrawal, therefore, even if a much larger reduction in the Soviet missile force, once again raises the—naturally unanswerable—question once asked De Gaulle: Will an American president be willing to sacrifice Chicago for the sake of Paris?

There is no answer to this question; nor can there be. After all, to think in terms of a third world war is to multiply with zero: There can be no victor in that war. In any case, eternal loyalty can be demonstrated only *ex post facto*.

Let me note that for 20 years, from 1963 to 1983, NATO managed very well without medium-range missiles. It is impossible to make the distrust felt by the allies go away once and for all—since this distrust is in any case fed by many daily political issues—it is justified to ask: Why should Europe be made a hostage to apprehensiveness? When they speak about the Soviet superiority and urge that it should be eliminated, the NATO defense ministers are again delaying a decision concerning negotiations aimed at the reduction of traditional weapons, negotiations that the Warsaw Pact recommended last June in Budapest.

From a purely military point of view, this is understandable. They regard it as more important to bolster their own morale than to make promises to the public. However, we hope that the foreign ministers will find time to give an answer. If they do, it will be possible to find a way out of what appears to be a vicious circle. It is not absolutely obligatory to escape to the old habits of rearmament from the new situation of disarmament. As it happens, it was during the NATO conference that THE NEW YORK TIMES wrote that according to the new evaluation by the U.S. chiefs-of-staff, the Atlantic alliance has sufficient traditional strength to counter the numerical strength of the socialist camp. In any case, this is just a game with numbers, since in the West the French Army is usually omitted when enumerating the NATO forces.

Thus, the flood of analyses which fill the Western press today—and which made the conference of NATO defense ministers suitably gloomy—concerning the vast, threatening superiority of the Warsaw Pact is in fact the result of a clever grouping of facts, a bogey-man created by focusing on certain weapons. Since Gorbachev repeated this week that an asymmetrical reduction—which is manifested in the missile agreement as well—can be envisaged, a solution is also at hand, though, of course, it would require substantial negotiations. Unfortunately, it appears from the communique issued in Brussels that the defense men of the Atlantic Treaty can see asymmetry only on the other side and thus it is only there that they perceive any need for reductions. In fact, they are urging the further development of their existing traditional forces.

This will hardly be a popular policy in Western Europe, considering the costs of extra armaments, and I rather suspect that the European defense ministers stressed this particularly in order to disarm at least one thing: the urge of the U.S. Congress to reduce the U.S. forces stationed in Europe. These forces are indispensable, says the communique. I could say that Carlucci and his colleagues mutually got each other to make statements which on one side tie the hands in Washington and, on the other side, force the European capitals to be more diligent in developing NATO.

In brief, the Atlantic military leadership was primarily preoccupied with itself even in the days preceding the Soviet-U.S. agreement. There are, however, anxieties

within NATO circles that can be regarded as fresh ones. One such anxiety is the fear of a third zero option. By this I mean the possible elimination of the strategic nuclear weapons in Europe, as well as the threatened status of the French and British nuclear forces in the great wave of disarmament.

It makes one wonder to consider that it seems that the Western military alliance has to be held together with the bogeyman of external danger, just as the nuclear means are indispensable in the Atlantic arsenal. The defense ministers praised the right combination of traditional and nuclear weapons, basing NATO strategy on this. This stance includes a caution toward disarmament measures that are seen to go too far.

I think that the military men of the Atlantic treaty are right to worry that the desire for nuclear disarmament is becoming dominant in European public opinion. The Brussels communiqués show that NATO circles want to prevent this happening. The frightening of the public has been going on for some time. NEWSWEEK asks the rhetorical question on its front page: How can Europe, that is, its Western half, fight without nuclear weapons?

Since after the current missile agreement there will be a mere 4,000 nuclear weapons in the hands of the NATO forces, the question appears premature. But the article has another purpose: It contrasts the high cost of traditional weapons with the cheap and useful nuclear forces, forcing the public opinion of the NATO countries to make its choice in those terms. Since this is regarded as the more urgent task, it is understandable that the negotiations that could provide the way out of this dilemma are given less emphasis in the Atlantic treaty communiqués.

It is the feeling of mutual threat that should be dispelled; confidence should be increased, which could be achieved with the measures for checking on the implementation of the agreements, thereby opening up new vistas for the building up of mutual confidence. Thus, I condemn the NATO defense ministers, not for the military attitude, which is part and parcel of their profession, but for the emphases of their communiqués, which are too much on arming themselves at a moment of disarmament.

Acel Comments on Relations With Common Market
LD042351 Budapest MTI in English
1752 GMT 4 Dec 87

[Text] Paris, December 4 (MTI)—Gyorgy Acel, member of the Political Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, gave an interview to the French news agency AFP. Among other things, he set forth his opinion that the common market member states could show more flexibility in the development of their commercial relations towards Hungary, and could also contribute to eliminating the obligatory visa system. With respect to the Hungarian internal political situation Gyorgy Acel said, among others, that "ideological diversity is no

longer the future today, but already the present". He added that "dialogue should be held with everyone who wishes to advance the country".

Assembly Foreign Affairs Committee Meets

*LD050033 Budapest MTI in English
1705 GMT 4 Dec 87*

[Text] Budapest, December 4 (MTI)—As reported, the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Hungarian National Assembly held a session Friday in Budapest, under the chairmanship of Matyas Szuros. Present at the session was Janos Peter, vice-president of the National Assembly.

As the first point on the agenda, the representatives heard and discussed a report on the Vienna disarmament and arms limitation talks by Ambassador Andre Erdos, head of the Hungarian delegation to the follow-up meeting of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. The committee voiced its appreciation of the work carried out by the delegation.

The committee discussed and approved the draft of the 1988 budget of the foreign ministry. Deputy Foreign Minister Peter Kovari made an oral contribution to the working document, then answered the questions of deputies.

As one of the themes proposed for the next session of the National Assembly, the committee dealt with the report of state secretary Imre Miklos, president of the State Office for Church Affairs, entitled "Church Policy and Foreign Relations". The state secretary elaborated on the report.

Calling for measures to be taken, one of the deputies raised the issue of the negative occurrences and anti-semitic manifestations that have taken place recently on the football fields and in their vicinity. Other representatives repeatedly asked questions related to the situation of the Hungarian Minority living beyond the country's borders. On the basis of experiences acquired in the course of their work, the deputies said: A part of those arriving in Hungary with valid travel documents request assistance to stay in Hungary legally. The speakers stressed that the procedure of the Hungarian state organs, which is in harmony with our general efforts and which recognizes humanitarian aspects, also raises unsolved questions. Participants initiated that a solution should be worked out as soon as possible for the settlement, in accordance with the actual situation, the interests of the country and the generally approved international norms.

Grosz Discusses Economic Reform

*LD061125 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian
1500 GMT 5 Dec 87*

[“168 Hours” program; interview with Premier Karoly Grosz by correspondent Gabor Bankuti; time and place not given—recorded]

[Text] [Bankuti] In a few days' time the National Assembly will meet and apart from the budget I think it will also discuss the reorganization of government work. But this is no secret, you have said so at these meetings, too.

[Grosz] Today's justified organizational changes in the government are the conclusion of earlier analytical work. In 1986 a very comprehensive and thorough analysis began about ways of bringing the government's work better into line with the demands of today's world. One stage of this analytical work will now come to a conclusion. I sense we were developing these conclusions even before the formulation of the government program of 16 September, but we thought that the logical sequence could be established whereby we had to formulate the objectives we wanted to realize. This required the formation of an organization most suitable for this, and only after this could personnel conditions also be created in the context of the objectives and requirements of the organization.

Three months have elapsed since the September session of parliament. In that time there has been a lot of debate about the way this construction, this organizational modification should look. Let me say straight off that not all important components of the modification require a decision by parliament. But I consider it my moral and political duty to provide parliament with detail as well if the body expressed confidence in September in such a tough program. After all, it is within parliament's sphere of authority to consider the reorganization of ministries or the restructuring of ministries. But this is not the most important aspect of the current organizational modification.

The most important aspect is that it strengthens democracy. At the other end it strengthens centralism on certain questions—in a restricted area it strengthens centralism. And this affects government commissions. It affects the increase in the independence of ministers. It affects regional administration. These are questions which do not fall directly within parliament's competence, but the process and the intention can be surveyed in its entirety, ie. together with the reorganization of ministries.

[Bankuti] Another reason why this may be worthwhile, perhaps, is that in our country the word centralism can also give rise to quite a lot of misunderstanding. Back to central hands, manual drive—this is what people say, although I do not think the question is about that.

[Grosz] Many expressions and a lot of terminology is used in this country in a very arbitrary fashion, with everyday practical political concepts as the point of departure. The terms centralism and decentralism are used, along with independence and stricter central control, as the people's mood or momentary political interests demand. A government's work cannot be organized on the basis of mood. Every thinking person can see this, I hope. A government's work must be organized in

accordance with a concept, a concept with content. On certain questions, where it is desirable, the central administration must be strengthened, and on many questions spheres of authority and spheres of competence must be given up and decentralization must take place.

It was very interesting at today's debate, too. Please think back: The director of the enterprise which is doing well economically and where there are big profits is resolutely opposed to state interference and suggests that they be left alone to manage themselves freely. And the directors of enterprises where problems have accumulated or are loss-making or facing losses, let's say, with the introduction of the new tax system in 1988, were passionate in their demands for state intervention.

Ideology has also been mentioned here, as tough criticism. It has been said that until the state has renounced in a suitably modern manner the exercise of its rights as proprietor, it has no right to distance itself from these problems. This, by the way, is a false thesis, an unfounded thesis, because the exercise by the state of its rights as proprietor does not depend on whether it has found these forms or not. On top of this, I would like to add straight away that the government does not equal the state, but I do want to get embroiled in this ideological debate because this is not the point.

All I want to indicate is that a great many expressions are used today in our country very arbitrarily out of momentary political interests. So I am not afraid to use the word centralization in questions where in today's circumstances it is unavoidable.

[Bankuti] In the final analysis, words that can be misunderstood can just as easily be misinterpreted, even the words of the prime minister.

[Grosz] Of course, this is only natural. Every man must have the right to do this, just as the prime minister can also retain his right to misunderstand one or two sentences. How a person behaves when he has heard them or drawn his own conclusions is another matter. It is precisely to avoid misunderstanding that there is a need for us to engage in open and sincere discussions with one another.

The biggest political benefit—not professional benefit because there was a great deal of that, too—of these three meetings is primarily the fact that the number of topics where we can misunderstand one another, where the government can misunderstand the enterprise managers and the enterprise managers can misunderstand the government, gets smaller. I regard this as a very useful and healthy dialogue, and I want to see this becoming effective in reducing the frequency of these misunderstandings. On the contrary, they should promote cooperation.

[Bankuti] Much has been said about the reform, about economic reform. I think enterprise managers all asked that it should be consistent. But questions which perhaps belong to the category of political reforms have also been raised.

[Grosz] Well, the consistent implementation of the economic reform is a justified demand. It is true that this was voiced in all three of these meetings. I felt that as regards the content of the reform there is still a lack of complete unanimity among us. There is no misunderstanding. No, not misunderstanding. But we do not consider the same components as important or topical. Besides, the further development of the entire reform process, the maturing of reform concepts demands great intellectual work.

We would now like to establish once again a work group which will, in a sense, bring to maturity—with continuous consultation among a wider range of theoretical experts, practising experts—the topical, short-term, and long-term task of the continuation of the reform.

Let me tell you why this is important. There is greater unity among us regarding questions to be solved today than before. Attitudes have changed a great deal on this point. But we have not yet thought through what the end is, where we want to go in the longer term. This carries in itself the danger that the preparation of our shorter-term measures, such as the wage reform, the price reform or the reform of social policy, may not be in harmony with a longer-term endeavor. So during these months, or in 1988, the theoretical sorting out of a longer-term concept must also be carried out. We can only draw the contours of this now. And our current measures must be brought into harmony as much as possible.

So the demand for a reform here is justified. And the fact that we interpret different questions differently must be regarded as natural, because we have not carried out the theoretical work which must be done. Besides, there are many new things happening now and there are differences of opinions about them. I do not consider this abnormal or a mistake. This is a natural feature of life.

[Bankuti] So would it be too soon to ask for your feelings on the reform?

[Grosz] Let us clarify this: Are we talking about economic reform or political reform? My understanding of the economic reform is the following: First, we carry out everything we have decided up till now. Second, we bring new areas into this work. Before everything else we must develop a wage reform, we must develop a social policy program. I am being more cautious by avoiding the word reform. But it must still have reform characteristics, in my judgement. Part of this is the modernization of the pension system. The development of a price reform for a longer period is absolutely essential. This cannot be introduced tomorrow as the new tax system about to

come into effect already contains substantial modifications of price ratios. But under no circumstances is this a price reform, no one can say it is. Of a few big questions awaiting solutions have been sorted out in my head. We must work with these. But what other questions remain in the long term requires, let me repeat, debate.

So I consider the development and search in this direction of the economic reform as necessary and topical. Regarding the question of political reform there is a decision of principle: It must be in harmony with the economic renewal and with the modernization of the administration. In my view the Central Committee is to survey this early next year. If the party conference takes place, which we have been pondering and considering for a long time now—whether its time has come and whether we have enough ammunition to organize this party conference ...

[Bankuti—interrupting] National party conference?

[Grosz] National, of course. If that is the case then these questions must be stated at this party conference.

[Bankuti] In your speech in GYOR, you mentioned dissenters; you said there was a need for them in political life, for those who approach questions in a different way, but still wish to participate in building the nation.

[Grosz] What I said in Gyor, was interpreted rather arbitrarily, both within the borders of our homeland, and mainly outside the borders of our homeland.

At the meeting in Gyor, the county first secretary gave a report on the political situation, and as a part of this, he said that the party was involved with the presence of dissenters, and there was confusion as to how to deal with this, how they should stand on this.

Apart from this, he also drew attention in his report to the fact that they do not really understand why the leadership does not deny the various slanders and malicious gossip which is circulating. Well, in reply to this, I said that in truth he is right. Not the dissenters, but primarily, in my opinion, at hostile prompting, they are also beginning to introduce tools of which we already have political experience, acquaintance, from 1956, that they are spreading untruths and slander, to discredit the leadership. For example, it is said that the ex-president has defected, and that one of the members of the Politburo has just sold his 12-room villa. What they say, by the way, is quite illogical, for today everyone who has a little money is not selling but buying, but this is a detail, it has no significance.

This belongs to the store of tools of political and moral discrediting, it is dishonest. There is no government which tolerates being slandered without foundation over a period. The ordinary working man who lives somewhere and reads these ill-willed insinuations in a prestige

newspaper, or hears something about them, does not know whether it is true or not. And in Hungary, precisely because of his trust in the press, he is liable to believe it.

Well, I also said there, of course I heard this, it was not made public, that the political leadership itself does not have to concern itself with these things yet today. [sentence as heard] So we will not start explaining things away, for that is the intention, that we should start explaining things away. We will not give excuses, for we have nothing to explain away. There is nothing on our conscience which we should have to start explaining away.

But, if this style goes beyond a certain point, if this becomes established in the store of tools of our political opponents, then there are legal tools for this. Then a libel suit must be issued, and the bringing to account of those concerned must be demanded. This is what I meant by we have other tools. These are legal tools. The political leader, however strange this sounds, has the same rights as a Hungarian citizen. So, we will not obstruct this, if he wants to assert this right.

Now, there is a difference, and they did not really explain this in foreign newspapers, between what I said about those dissenters who want socialism, who want this system, but in a different way from the way we are doing things, and the others. They did not speak about those dissenters who are looking for better methods to cure our present real and true problems, than those which we are using today. And they also did not make public the fact that I also said that we have never declared that our answer is the only correct answer to the possible conflicts and problems which crop up. And they also kept quiet about the fact that I stated very unequivocally that we are prepared to enter into debate, to discuss and conduct exchanges of opinions about every political endeavor, about differing tendencies and views, which seek socialism, but which have observations, proposals, and thoughts on this. Many things have now appeared regarding this Lakitelek meeting, including a very thorough and very colorful interview. [reference to recent meeting between dissenters and Imre Pozsgay and to interview given by Pozsgay to Magyar Nemzet, published on 14 November]

[Bankuti] And in this interview they also published a document. Have you read it?

[Grosz] That is correct, their stance adopted there. Of course I have read it. Naturally, I do not agree with the fact that that stance was published, because in my view no matter how much it is beyond dispute that that stance has helpful intentions, the stance does not help. So it is not the intention of the stance which I dispute, but in my view such a responsibly thinking community must not reach such an unrealistic assessment of the situation and draw such conclusions.

If a conference of such distinguished people does not draw conclusions amounting to a work program then they should very carefully consider whether they should paint such dramatic contours in their assessment of the situation.

But this is another matter, it is my personal view. I did receive, by the way, a letter from a representative of the participants at Lakitelek in which they asked me to publish this declaration of theirs in the Hungarian press, ie. that I should ensure its publication. I expressed my thanks for the confidence and said that I neither support nor agree with it, because this country today needs self-confidence and not the strengthening of pessimism. And that declaration contains no program. Secondly, it is my conviction that it weakens and not strengthens our international credibility. At present we have international prestige and a reputation—I can prove this on the basis of my own experiences. And this must be preserved because it is important that we should realize the resurgence. Interestingly, those signatories of the letter with whom I have spoken about my view of this accepted my opinion of mine.

So, I would like to emphasize that in the interest of the implementation of our work program, which we call the government program, and within its framework, as the chairman of the government and also as party worker I am prepared with all my strength and at any moment to conduct exchanges of opinions, debates with all groups that think differently. And I welcome all helpful advice and remarks which I consider useful and useable and I shall incorporate them in my work program—in my personal work program, not that of the government because that has already been approved by parliament.

So I would like to work together with every Hungarian who seeks the country's prosperity, who wants us to get through this difficult era. But you know how it is. Especially the international press but also the domestic press pick out words rather arbitrarily. And when a sentence is taken out of context it is very easy to give it a meaning and content which is contrary to the original.

[Bankuti] To avoid misinterpretation, I would like to ask you if your words also apply to the participants at the Lakitelek meeting?

[Grosz] Well of course. Of course. It is my feeling that many valuable thoughts gained expression at the Lakitelek meeting. I do not, of course, know, as I was not there, any detailed material about this, but I have friends and acquaintances who participated. I have talked to them and asked for information and found much of value among the things they remembered and considered important. At the same time I felt—and they also felt and said this—that there were also views that could be misunderstood or were extreme which I cannot of course accept.

But I consider it natural that when people come together to discuss such a question there are also elements which are debatable or unacceptable. The aspect, by the way, was very nicely expressed by Comrade Pozsgay in his interview in which he said that several issues had been raised there with which he could not identify. At the same time, he also feels that there are valuable elements. So this is my opinion on this matter, so it also applies to Lakitelek, as I have said.

Whether a meeting of this kind is the main arena for public life or not is another matter. It is my feeling that meetings with, let us say, managing directors, or meetings with workers or meetings with other groups of the intelligentsia are at least as valuable a public activity as, let me say it again, our coexistence with a well-intentioned gathering of intellectuals at Lakitelek.

Nagy Criticizes Ministry Over Goods Shortages
LD051146 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian
1500 GMT 4 Dec 87

[Text] The trade unions do not agree with the standpoint of the Ministry of Internal Trade according to which the goods shortages and the increased demand of recent months could not have been forecast. Sandor Nagy, secretary of the National Council of Trade Unions, said that at a meeting of the presidium.

Miklos Andriko, state secretary for internal trade, had earlier tried to justify the ministry's standpoint with figures, saying that this year they had reckoned only on 0.1-percent growth in retail trade. Contrary to this, however, the amount of goods sold will probably increase by 5 percent by the end of the year. To end the shortages they then sought import sources. According to the trade unions, this was necessary before. But in general it is not this that is causing problems, but rather the fact that there is a lack of interest and a laxity in contractual discipline in internal trade.

Sejm Meets Under Revised Agenda

LD051110 Warsaw PAP in English 1025 GMT
5 Dec 87

[Text] Warsaw, Dec 5: The Sejm (parliament) began its meeting today with a report on the course and outcome of the nationwide referendum.

Before that, the Supreme Chamber changed the previously set agenda. Hence, the Sejm will not review reports of Sejm committees on the government draft program of the implementation of the second stage of economic reform today. A report on the government draft amendments to this year's budgetary law will be additionally reviewed. Changes in the composition of Sejm committees will be carried out at a later date.

Wojciech Jaruzelski and Zbigniew Messner are taking part in the debates.

Sejm Speaker Roman Malinowski delivered a report on the referendum.

Jaruzelski, Messner Present

LD052347 Warsaw PAP in English 1832 GMT
5 Dec 87

["Sejm debates"—PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 5—A thorough, principled discussion on the conclusions that should be drawn from the referendum constituted the essential content of parliamentary debate here today.

Nearly 12 million people who on Nov. 29 voted "yes" constitute a strong support for reform-oriented postures. No one can ignore, however, the opinion of the 5 million people who voted "no". The Sejm requires, and the government is determined, to introduce appropriate amendments to the implementation programme of the 2nd stage of economic reform.

The session began at 10.00 hrs. Present were Wojciech Jaruzelski and Zbigniew Messner.

The Sejm introduced changes in the agenda. The point concerning a government report on the implementation programme of the second stage of the economic reform was deleted in the face of the necessity to introduce changes in the programme resulting from the referendum. The point was replaced by the report of the Economic Plan, Budget and Finance Committee and the Legislative Committee on the Government Draft Law on the Change of the Budget Law for 1987.

Apart from that the Sejm resolved not to make personal changes in the composition of Sejm committees during its present session.

The first and the most important point of the Saturday debate was the report on the course and result of the nationwide referendum. The following speakers took the floor: Sejm Speaker Roman Malinowski, member of the Executive Committee's Presidium of the PRON National Council, Deputy Speaker Jerzy Ozdowski, and Chairman of the Council of Ministers Zbigniew Messner.

Next, the discussion began. The first to address the Sejm, on behalf of the PUWP floor group, was deputy Edward Szymanski, who said that the nationwide, civic discussion on our future and the difficult present day had not fallen short of the expectations of the referendum initiators and favoured further consolidation of pro-reform attitudes.

We do not intend to ignore the opinion of those 5 million participants in the referendum who voted "no" or who cast votes without specifying clearly their stand. This was their civic right and expression of care for public matters.

Deputy Pawel Szymanski (PUWP) said that the OPZZ (All-Poland Alliance of Trade Unions) had expressed its support for the general strategy and goals contained in the realizational programme of the second stage of the economic reform. At the same time, however, it made the reservation that this is not synonymous with automatic permission for the introduction of detailed solutions and it presented a critical opinion of the hitherto course of the reform. "The opinion is fairly widespread according to which social sacrifices during the last few years did not produce the expected results," he said.

Deputy Eugeniusz Czykwin (non-party, Christian Social Association) said that the referendum created a new quality in the political system in Poland. "It was, first and foremost, a victory of a democratic form of dialogue of the authorities with society, a confirmation of the persistence and determination of the authorities in the realization of socialist renewal, and finally, it was a confirmation of the citizens' verifiable influence on state issues," he said.

Deputy Aleksander Legatowicz (non-party) said that, in accordance with the spirit of the reform, all should be done to ensure that the effects of the referendum were the biggest possible. "This may even be a big success providing that we fully understand what has happened and we draw conclusions from this. For me, a general conclusion follows from the referendum: Society demands high quality actions, as well as verification of the programme," he said.

Deputy Mikolaj Kozakiewicz (United Peasant Party) said: "There is something paradoxical about the situation which we have faced after the referendum: It was only after the referendum that it turned out that the exceptionally high ceiling of requirements, non-existent in any other country, set by the law changed success into

defeat. But, a number of deputies in this room, including myself, had warned against such a legal settlement of the validity of the referendum".

Deputy Alfred Wawrzyniak, speaking in the name of the PAX Christian Association's deputies' floor group, said, among other things: "For society the reform was associated primarily with a frustrating prices-incomes race and increasing difficulties of everyday life. Social disillusionment with the hitherto results of reforms bred scepticism or even passivity of part of society. The great chance offered by the referendum and the unprecedented growth of interest in economic matters associated with it—evidenced by the high participation in the voting—cannot under any circumstances be wasted".

After the debate the Sejm passed a resolution on the results of the nationwide referendum—with four abstentions.

We do not ignore those who failed to go to the polls and we understand that they did that for various reasons. The PUWP floor group gives its support to the direction of changes and additions to the implementation programme of the 2nd stage of the economic reform proposed by the prime minister, finding them concordant with the results of the referendum, Szymanski said.

Referendum, as a form of general consultation, has won approval, stressed deputy Tadeusz Szelachowski (United Peasant Party). The results of the referendum have not produced a legal settlement. The awareness of the necessity of carrying out thorough reforms in the country, however, is universal. Society's opinions differed as to the scope and pace of attaining the principal goals of reform.

The UPP is determined to continue the cause of reforms. On behalf of the UPP floor group deputy Szelachowski supported the statement of the Sejm speaker and the presented draft resolution.

The reply to the question about who won the referendum is clear already today and is: Democracy, said deputy Marek Wieczorek (Democratic Party).

Arguing the government press spokesman's opinion concerning the fear of "private enterprise" which allegedly had an impact on the referendum result, deputy Wieczorek stated that precisely the fact that the programme of the second stage of economic reform staked on the development of individual initiative—was winning it supporters. Such comments on the part of the spokesman are concordant neither with the assumptions concerning enterprise and equal rights of the economy's three sectors, nor with the objective reality.

The Democratic Party floor group is convinced that the proposals to modify the implementation programme of the 2nd stage of the economic reform go in the proper direction.

Deputy Kazimierz Secomski (non-party) stated that the time had come for energetic actions throughout the country, in all the spheres of economy, in favour of constructive and systematic implementation of reform decisions.

Deputy Wiktor Pawlak (PUWP), on behalf of the Sejm committees for administration, internal affairs and administration of justice and legislative procedure presented a draft law on the amendment to the law on the censorship of publications and entertainment, tabled to the Sejm by the Council of State.

The Sejm adopted the draft law on the amendment to the law on censorship of publications and entertainment as presented by Sejm committees, with seven abstentions.

Next, deputy Krystyna Jandy-Jendroska (no party affiliation) presented, on behalf of Sejm's planning, budget and finance and the legislative procedure committees the evaluation of a government draft law on the amendment to the 1987 Budget Law. The speaker reported that the committees by a majority of votes recognized the need to amend the 1987 Budget Law. The committees voted to increase expenditure by 65 billion zloties. At the same time, they approved revenues lower by 333 billion zloties. This will limit the deficit, compared to the government draft, to about 297.6 billion zloties. The budget deficit will be covered by a bank credit and this entails changes in the credit plan.

The Sejm adopted the law amending the 1987 Budget Law with 66 votes against and 105 abstentions.

The Sejm also adopted a resolution on the implementation of voters' motions and postulates. The question of this law was discussed during the previous meeting of the Sejm, during which the adoption of the resolution was postponed due to the fact that the chamber saw the need to supplement the text of the law. Today, the law was adopted unanimously.

Deputy Elzbieta Rutkowska (PUWP) presented a report prepared by the Sejm's Standing Orders and Deputies' Issues Committee and the Sejm Legislative Procedure Committee on the Sejm draft resolution on the change of the Sejm's standing orders. The draft envisages the introduction of amendments to the scopes of activity of 12 Sejm committees. In the case of three committees it also proposes a change of their names: They are the Sejm Distribution, Services and Small Businesses Committee (new name—Sejm Home Market and Services Committee), the Sejm Transport and Communications Committee (to Sejm Transport, Shipping and Communications Committee) and the Sejm Foreign Economic Cooperation and Maritime Economy Committee (to Sejm Foreign Economic Relations Committee). The resolution was passed with six voices against and 24 abstentions.

Deputies' questions and interpellations were the last point on the agenda. In an interpellation addressed to the premier, Deputy Walenty Mackowiak (non-party) asked about the government's concrete intentions in the struggle with alcoholism, as well as about cooperation with the church.

Janusz Komender, the minister of health and social care, replying on behalf of Premier Messner, said that the political authorities and the government share the opinion on the unsatisfactory results of the hitherto struggle against alcoholism. Next year, in 1988, the quantity of alcoholic beverages on sale will be cut and sanctions will be stepped up against intoxicated persons in public places. The base for anti-alcoholic treatment will be broadened.

The Roman Catholic Church and other religious unions will very actively join in the activities aimed at upbringing in sobriety and combatting alcoholism.

At 4.15 p.m. Warsaw time the Sejm closed its session.

Messner Speech

LD051200 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0932
GMT
5 Dec 87

[Speech by Zbigniew Messner, chairman of the Council of Ministers, at the Sejm session in Warsaw—live]

[Text] Citizen marshal! May it please the house!

The national referendum, whose subject was the scope and the rate of introducing a program of economic and sociopolitical changes, did not yield a conclusive and legally binding result. However the results form a particularly important basis for continuing the task of reforms. They confirm the justness of the decision to hold a referendum; they also confirm the accuracy of many views and opinions expressed by the citizen deputies in the house and offices linked to it.

More than two-thirds of the voters, that is approximately 12 million citizens, voted for swift, decisive restructuring. By replying yes they not only expressed their agreement to its implementation but also declared their will to participate actively in this process. This is a great force which could become the social vanguard of the reform.

The government has often stressed that the transformation of the economy is very necessary. It has pointed out the link between economic reforms and the deepening of the democratization of social life. We did not conceal the conditions linked with the speedy implementation of the program. The support of the majority of the voters and the wide-scale participation in the referendum speak of a great feeling of social concern and care for the future of our country and confirm the government in its conviction regarding the validity of the course chosen.

The motives of those who did not take part in the referendum were undoubtedly very varied. Many people who did not vote consciously subjugated themselves to the will of those who did go to the polls. It is very possible that in some cases dissatisfaction was being expressed with various local difficulties in everyday life, with the low quality of civic amenities and services, with displays of bureaucratic attitudes, with the unsatisfactory application of legal order, and with various other difficulties.

One reason for justified dissatisfaction was the shortages of goods on the market. Just recently one of the main reasons was the open and full explanation of the prices and incomes policy. Despite the cost for acting openly—an intensified buying-up of goods—the government does not mean to abandon the principle of working openly. A not inconsiderable number of people were put off taking part by objective considerations: their state of health, their work in Polish enterprises and Polish agencies abroad, or the fact that they were going abroad, and other similar reasons.

A decisive majority of those participating in the voting and who voted no were, it would seem, moved by various considerations. Most certainly were fears of a decline in the living standard and the fact that in the opinion of some the price to be paid for the reforms was too high. In answering the basic question of the referendum—should the economy be reformed more quickly or more slowly?—they expressed their opinion by voting for the pace to be slowed down.

There are among them undoubtedly representatives of the economically weakest groups of society. Their waverings and doubts must be understood. The government is determined to introduce the appropriate corrections and modifications to the implementation program, while maintaining the aims and directions of the reform, to relieve the severity of their social effects at the cost of the speed of the attainment of the set results.

We cannot, however, accept the reasoning derived from certain domestic and foreign sources to the effect that the program has been rejected. This would be equivalent to stating that the Polish nation does not want the strengthening of democracy and seeks political stagnation and economic regress. This is hostile reasoning [rozumowanie wrogie] and, irrespective of who presents it, it strikes at the heart of national existence.

On behalf of the Council of Ministers I wish to express sincere thanks to all those who took part in the referendum. This was undoubtedly an act of unprecedented significance, a practical proof of democratic, unfettered participation of society in the shaping of decisions that are most significant for the fate of the country. This was a great, nationwide consultation. The citizens have learned much, the government and all the bodies of the administration as much. We know better today than ever about social unease, expectations, and opinions. This is

exceptionally important for the specification of the methods of implementing the necessary, next transformations, the acceleration of those that are already sufficiently ready, the strengthening of analytical and conceptual work on those that demand it, the indication of where to act more quickly and where more cautiously. Above all, however, it is important for the formulation and introduction of the long-term program of socialist reforms, whose appropriate basis is formed by full, social coparticipation in the processes of reconstruction. The referendum seen from this perspective has fulfilled an important role. The thorough, authentic exploitation of its results is thus the political and moral obligation of the government.

The Council of Ministers views the implementation of this responsibility with total seriousness and a sense of responsibility. This has been confirmed by yesterday's government session.

May it please the house! Which tasks do we consider to be essential and necessary once the will to implement the reforms has been declared? As far as the Government is concerned these tasks are: first, the restructuring of the system of management through the continuation of changes in the structures and the functions of the organs of state administration; the increase of the independence, self-management and responsibility of economic units based on the disciplines of self-financing; also the simplification of the legal system and a limiting of its control duties, with regard both to economic units and to citizens.

Second: the creation of economic, organizational and legal conditions which would favor enterprise, including greater freedom for the development of creative initiatives to undertake economic activities; the development of an equal goods and services market, both productive and consumer; an equal rights development for various forms of property, depending on criteria of efficiency; the elimination of inefficient economic units.

Third: the development of flexible forms for the organization of the economy and also making conditions for the influx of financial measures.

Fourth: the creation of conditions for the improvement of work organization and discipline through motivational systems which break with wage egalitarianism; stimulating modern forms of work organization, including partnership systems; and an appropriate change in legal norms.

Next, the development of economic instruments, including currency rates and hard currency allocation, and also flexible organizational forms for the development of cooperation with abroad and for favorable ties with foreign capital and with the IMF and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development.

And finally, a speeding up of actions aiming at the restructuring of the economy, at its competitiveness in the world, an increase in the part played by those branches which are the conveyors of technological progress. In short, to bring the shape of the economy closer to the aspirations of millions of Poles.

The government is also of the opinion that one must not renounce the basic condition for the success of the reform, which is the ensuring of a lasting balance and the strengthening of the currency, creating order in incomes and prices, and making economic parameters more realistic. In actions aiming at strengthening the currency materials of the Polish National Bank are going to be used. Bringing order to prices and incomes is not something devised by official experts or professors of economics; this is an elementary requirement of rational management.

All enterprises and all citizens should know what cost show much and why, how much should be paid for it, and also what value their work really has. Thorough calculation must form the basis for the specification of where and how to produce most cheaply. A significant factor in the growth of supply should be seen therein. Without realizing this principle the economy is not sound and there can be no talk of any reforms. The balancing of the market, the setting in order of the parameters of the limitation of subsidies and the redistributive functions of the budget, must still remain as one of the main directions of the state policy. It will however be realized in a way and at a rate that take account of the referendum results.

The government will, however, do everything to minimize the effects of the slow-down. The government feels that the program of basic limitation of the range of budget subsidies should be corrected in the light of the referendum and the discussions preceding it. The increased subsidies in relation to intentions will allow the limitation of the scale of growth of prices and a more balanced allocation of it over the next few years. We must, however, be conscious that this will prolong the process of setting the economy in order and will delay its effects. It will also increase next year's budget deficit.

Taking into account all economic and social conditions it will be necessary to carry out in 1988 in accordance with the announcements changes in supply prices and also the introduction of retail price hikes for coal and energy, housing rents, payments for warm water, and transport tariffs. The increase of official prices for basic food articles initially proposed for next year will however be spread over 3 years. In 1988 their prices will rise only to the extent that corresponds to changes in procurement prices fulfilled this year and envisaged for next year, thus enabling the profitability of agricultural production to be maintained. I would once again like to remind you that this growth will be compensated either directly or by the

growth of welfare payments and procurement prices. The average real value of wages, pensions, annuities, and also allowances will thus be maintained.

The referendum proved above all doubt that it is necessary to create a lasting mechanism minimizing the danger of lowering of the citizens' living standard. It will thus be necessary to establish jointly with the OPZZ a basket of goods and services that form the basis for specifying the methods of evening out the results of the growth of the cost of living. The program for implementation of the second stage of the economic reform will thus be appropriately broadened.

Slowing down the pace of limiting subsidies and making the economic balance-sheet more realistic cannot fail to influence the intensity of the introduction of other undertakings that are economically and socially important. Every renunciation has its price. So we must once again examine the intention of reducing tax on the income of enterprises and the tax limiting the growth of wage payments. The government will aim to reduce as far as possible the rate of taxation. The implementation of this task, however, may prove to be not as far-reaching as originally envisaged.

The lowering of the scale of food-price rises, including those of meat, will not allow us to abandon rationing and thus to abolish the procurement monopoly. In the cause-and-effect chain this will have unfavorable consequences: the motivation for an expansion in the production and supply of meat will decrease. A limiting of market mechanisms will certainly increase the fundamental scope of the central distribution for the planned undertakings. Changes in the government program will consist not only of amendments to the proposals put forward so far. The referendum and the campaign which preceded it have proved that some of the systemic solutions proposed are considered unclear [malo czytelne] and abstract slogans. They must be transformed into actions that directly remove the painful inconveniences of everyday life.

Without a doubt this group of phenomena includes matters as painful and upsetting as the supplies of medicines and sanitary articles, housing construction, agricultural supplies, the improvement of the relationship between the citizen and officialdom, and many others. This was noted by the Sejm marshal in his address today and also by Deputy Ozdowski. Also more than once the fundamental importance of these problems has quite rightly been pointed out by the citizen deputies. These problems were also oft-mentioned subjects during the campaign which preceded the referendum. Their profound analysis is being carried out by government organs and the local state administration. For many and varied reasons, not always objective, their efficacy is still often far from the expectations of society. It is all the more important to reach directly those

milieux where these problems arise in order to resolve them. This is an urgent and important task for all the administration and especially for its regional organs.

The ways of resolving these problems will become an integral part of the program of implementation. One must link the social policy of the state with the principles of the reform in accordance with the logic of the second phase. For the point is not to claw back the systemic social achievements but to ensure a realistic availability and a proper quality of social services and the elimination of organizational, legal and economic anachronisms.

Citizen Marshal! May it please the house!

During the history of People's Poland attempts to carry out economic reforms have been made more than once. Many of them had real substantive qualities. However there was not always enough political will or the skill for successfully introducing them into everyday life. There was not enough imagination and implementational consistency. Nor did one always know how to convince society and to draw it into participating in the process of changes.

We must not repeat the old mistakes. The reform undertaken as a result of the Ninth PZPR Congress is the most radical and the most comprehensive of all those to date. Its consistent implementation, intensified in accordance with the resolution of the 10th PZPR Congress, is a unique chance [niepowtarzalna szansa] for Poland.

I want to ask the house to accept the proposed directions for the further work on the program of implementing the economic reform's second phase. I also ask for approval for the work which has already begun and which has provoked reservations to date. I wish to give the assurance that the government will make use of all suggestions arising from the referendum and from the wide-ranging public discussion which preceded it. I am thinking here of the advice of the Sejm organs, PRON, sociopolitical organizations, professional institutions and groups including the Congress of Polish Economists, and also proposals and observations provided by citizens.

Once again I take the opportunity to give sincere thanks for this extraordinarily valuable contribution. Thank you for your attention. [applause]

Resolution on Referendum Results

LD051721 Warsaw PAP in English 1620 GMT
5 Dec 87

["Sejm Resolution On Results of All-Poland Referendum"—PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 5—The Sejm of the Polish People's Republic states that high turnout in the all-Poland referendum held on Nov. 29 testifies to high civic activeness and is the manifestation of shaping new democratic forms of political life of the country. It also confirms the

rightness of the decision to conduct a national referendum, made on the initiative of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth (PRON).

The Sejm takes note of a report of the Central Commission for Referendum on the course of the referendum.

The Sejm pays utmost attention to the outcome of the referendum. It revealed an authentic, freely expressed will of society. Taking part in the referendum, citizens came out for the policy of reforms, for democratization of social life. At the same time the results of the referendum point to the necessity to once again examine the pace and scope of some ventures of the second stage of the economic reform, in particular the assumptions of the price-income policy. It ensues from them that it is also necessary to increase possibility and effectiveness of activities of democratic institutions and to consolidate moral order, discipline and legal order.

The Sejm acknowledges the premier's statement on the introduction of modifications and supplements to the implementing programme of the second stage of the reform and on the presentation of them to the Sejm. The Sejm obliges the government to properly take into consideration the referendum results in the economic reform's second stage's implementing programme and in the state's draft budget for 1988 and to thoroughly analyze suggestions and postulates forwarded by citizens in pre-referendum discussions and also opinions and motions tabled to the Sejm during the hitherto work on the implementing programme of the reform.

The Sejm stresses its firm will to continue economic reforms, all-round democratization of social life and consolidation of the state and the need for consistent and firm activities in all these planes as the condition of the successes of the progress of reforms in Poland. There is no turning back from the undertaken reforms. They include the future of Poland and every Polish family.

The Sejm voices its appreciation for all those who participated in preparing and conducting the referendum. The Sejm thanks all citizens who came to the polls on Nov. 29, thus expressing their civic care for the fate of Poland.

Resolution on Voters' Postulates

LD052204 Warsaw PAP in English 1955 GMT
5 Dec 87

["Sejm Resolution on Voters' Postulates (abridged)"]—
PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 5—The realization of motions and postulates has been carried out, on the whole, satisfactorily and produced definite effects. Out of the more than 50 thousand motions and postulates over a half have been realized so far. At the same time motions addressed to supreme and central state bodies have been realized in about 60 percent.

The Sejm stated, however, that the hitherto effects of the realization of motions, in spite of unquestionable attainments, fall short of social expectations, which should be ascribed chiefly to the country's difficult economic situation.

One of the acute social pains, reflected in the numerous motions and postulates of voters, is the housing problem. No progress has been recorded in this area. There still is no concrete concept of developing housing construction. The Sejm expects the government to work out such a concept and to promptly present it to the Sejm.

The realization of motions concerning agriculture and food economy made it possible to slightly improve the supplies of farming machinery and equipment whose quality, however, still arouses serious objections. The supplies of mineral fertilizers, pesticides and coal still remain insufficient.

Means earmarked for the development of science and technology have increased considerably. The problem of the science and technical progress' influence on the socio-economic development of the country still remains open.

The level of spending on education continues to fall short of the needs.

The Sejm notes an inconspicuous, uneven progress in the realization of motions and postulates concerning health protection. In particular, the supplies of medicines have not improved sufficiently.

As far as social and welfare problems go conditions have been created to liquidate the retirement and disability pensions of the so-called old purse.

Regional programmes have been prepared to protect the natural environment of the Baltic's coastal zone and of the Katowice Voivodship. Nonetheless, the situation in the area of environmental protection continues to be highly unsatisfactory.

Over the past two years considerable progress has been made in the area of democratization and stabilization of social life. Changes in passport regulations have met half-way the social expectations.

Solidarity Steps Up Activity After Referendum

LD061442 Hamburg DPA in German 1338 GMT
6 Dec 87

[Text] Warsaw, (DPA)—The leadership of the banned Solidarity trade union has announced a stepping-up of its activities as a reaction to the result of the referendum in Poland. The National Executive Committee, which was recently formed as a new leading body, called upon members and sympathizers to form founding committees of Solidarity in the factories and to apply for their

registration. Apart from this, Solidarity is to work more actively with the self-management bodies of the factories and devolved local government.

It says in the declaration that the referendum was a defeat for Poland's political leadership which was unsuccessful in winning a mandate to lead the country. The population wants radical political and economic reforms, but does not have any faith in the leadership and its representatives. Freedom of association and trade-union pluralism have to be created in order to overcome the crisis of confidence and save the country from going under. Economic and political reforms form a unity, for a state organized along totalitarian lines cannot have a rationally managed economy with market mechanisms.

PRON Issues Statement on Referendum

LD041948 Warsaw PAP in English 1800 GMT
4 Dec 87

["PRON's Statement on Referendum"—PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 4—We already know the results of the referendum. The Sejm obtained reliable information about the scale of social support for the reform programme. The referendum has become an important manifestation of dialogue.

Initiating the referendum the PRON (Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth) acted in the conviction that the realization of the announced reforms without knowledge about the degree of citizens' support could have turned out to be risky for their practical implementation.

Two-thirds of those participating in the referendum gave their full support for the announced programme of reforms.

Reforms are necessary.

The PRON National Council's Executive Committee expects the Sejm to study with attention the results of the referendum and the achievements of the campaign preceding it, and to take into account in its decisions the conclusions stemming from the discussion and referendum results.

Messner Addresses Zabrze Miners

LD041334 Warsaw Television Service in Polish
1632 GMT 3 Dec 87

[Speech by Premier Zbigniew Messner at miner's gala in Zabrze, near Katowice, on 3 December; no video available—recorded]

[Text] Dear miners, esteemed gathering: I have been empowered by the PZPR Central Committee Politburo and by Comrade Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee and chairman of the Council of State—he is present here in this hall, and also

on behalf of the Council of Ministers of the Polish People's Republic, to convey to those gathered in this hall sincere thanks and expressions of the highest esteem to miners for their contribution to the functioning and the development of the state's economy, for their involvement, sense of responsibility, and discipline with which they execute their difficult profession.

In accordance with tradition the extracting industry will close its annual balance sheets with successful results. There will be about 500,000 tonnes more of hard coal than was envisaged by the central annual plan. The extraction of lignite is growing swiftly. The results of sulphur, metallic ores, salt, oil, and gas mining are good.

Thus the thanks conveyed on behalf of the authorities of our state are not merely a form of courtesy. They are proof of the respect felt for the results achieved and the dedication of the mining community.

The Barborka day reaches further than the mining milieu. The lasting characteristics of the mining profession—respect for work, dedication, a high degree of discipline, a sense of responsibility for one's comrades—these are universal values. Miners' Day is an occasion for emphasizing the lasting significance of these values and principles. I would particularly like to stress this.

The restructuring of the Polish economy, the democratization of collective life will necessitate rational and radical systemic solutions, the full involvement of individuals and workers' collectives, boldness and nonstereotyped solutions everywhere and in every job, the link-up of individual aspirations and collective success. A few days ago the whole of society expressed its stand toward the program of reforms. This was an answer which was unrestricted, open, and sincere. In various ways—depending on attitudes, awareness of realities and the material situation—people expressed their individual expectations and worries.

We have to take these into consideration. Above all, however, the decisive support for reforms on the part of the great majority of the active section of the public which wanted to express its views has to be regarded as a manifestation of public will. The referendum has confirmed the need to transform the visage of our economy and the model of public life. This has found its expression also here, in the lands of the Silesian Basin.

The process of restructuring the economy has begun with a reorganization of the supreme and central bodies of state administration. The essence of these transformations is a change in the method of control over industry through concentrating central activity on creating the state's industrial policy. As a result, the organization of the coal and electric power production processes has been entrusted to economic organizations in the shape of corporations for hard coal and for power industry and lignite. This solution takes into consideration the specific features of both these industries, which require an

integration of organizational forms and making them into concerns. It also makes it possible to increase the participation of work forces in management. These changes should contribute to improvements in production activity and its basing on criteria of economic efficiency.

In the reformed system of functioning of the socialist economy and state a fundamental role will be played by the release and rational utilization of the enormous reserves of public activeness and enterprise. And this is not just a question of quantitative growth in production and supply. Economic mechanisms should ensure management efficiency and be a stimulus for productive and well-organized work, and for modernization and improvements in quality. This applies to every area. But if we consider the significance of minerals in our economy, and first and foremost of hard coal as the primary source of energy, it is precisely in the extraction industry that the process of realizing economic mechanisms becomes of special significance. The rationalization of extraction and use of raw and other materials is today the key economic problem in most countries. The raw material resources cannot, as is well known, be renewed, and the cost of obtaining them is constantly going up. Until quite recently there was a common conviction in Poland that raw materials are relatively plentiful, mainly hard coal, and that its extraction costs are low. The imagined cheapness of fuel contributed to the shaping of the structure of our economy which is energy intensive. The habits of saving energy and raw materials did not develop. The national use of hard coal has been growing in recent years by about 4 million tonnes per year at the cost of exports. The need to increase extraction and then to maintain its level did not encourage the rationalization of costs in the mining sector itself. Today it is known that it is not possible to continue economic development by increasing the supplies of raw materials and power. It is, therefore, essential to force, by economic measures, their saving throughout the whole economy.

It is planned to take action here in several directions. First, economically justified national prices of energy—bearing raw materials will be established as a precondition for ensuring their thrifty use by consumers. Second, the economic and financial mechanisms, mainly the application of transaction prices [cena transakcyjna] will influence the lowering of the unit costs of extraction in the mines. And finally, third, in investment policy, preference will be given to branches which have low energy consumption.

The decrease in energy consumption in the whole of the economy will not take place immediately, however. This truth has to be taken into consideration while creating the set of conditions which correspond to the specific character of coal mining. One of the tasks of the newly established Hard Coal Association will be to define these conditions correctly, but above all, to bring about a consistent improvement in the profitability of the mining industry as a whole.

Esteemed participants at the meeting, the fundamental factor which determines effective and safe work in the mines is scientific and technological progress. One must stress that the functioning of the Polish mining industry is based on a strong design infrastructure, scientific research, construction, and specialized infrastructure, such as construction and mining rescue. Polish mining machinery and equipment are characterized by high—close to the best—international designs and technical levels. This standard must be maintained and improved. The directions of further introduction of technological progress should serve the causes of improving the safety of mining crews, and of coal quality, intensifying the use of resources, lowering the costs of production, and protecting environment.

A number of interesting results have been achieved in these spheres. The plans for the future are also ambitious and innovative. Work on improving safety in mining has involved many methods and technologies, among them the use of equipment to detect and combat dangers which occur during the process of coal exploitation, as well as new, safer materials. Unfortunately existing dangers are manifesting themselves, frequently in a tragic manner. Work on safety in the mines will, therefore, be continued intensely, with the investment of large resources. There will also be a systematic improvement in health care and holiday and rest conditions for miners.

It is extremely important to improve the quality of the coal used for generating power, taking into consideration the need to intensify the use of already-existing enterprises for mechanical coal processing and to modernize them, and, depending on resources, to construct new ones. The quality of coal is one of the reasons for the lack of use of the potential capabilities of power stations which are constructed to use coal of a much higher fuel quality. Even though we are in the forefront in the world, regarding coal deposits, concern for long-term supplies to the country makes it essential to reduce the unit use of resources (per tonnes of the extracted coal). It is essential to apply modern technological solutions in order to exploit the deposits in more difficult geological and mining conditions.

Up to now, technical progress served to lessen the workload and to increase extraction within a unit of time. The first steps toward the better management of deposits were made by the introduction of a new principle of fixing safety pillars, which makes it possible to increase the viable reserves of certain coal mines. There are fairly great expectations linked to the implementation of the planing technology [technika strugowa]. The lowering of extraction costs is first and foremost a case of improving the time-use ratio of machines and equipment for mining and loading, of decreasing the use of metallurgical products, of energy, and materials needed per unit of extracted coal, and, finally, a decrease in the amount of imported goods needed by the extracting industry.

Earnings from coal exports are diminishing. There is, on the other hand, an ever-increasing demand for sources linked to the import of materials and equipment for the mining industry and for industries which cooperate with it.

Dear miners, the extracting industry belongs to that part of the economy the functioning of which—even when one applies the highest possible level of technology—disturbs the natural environment. To protect it we have undertaken a variety of actions. One example here might be not allowing excessive salinity in the waters of the Olza river; near the Debiensko mine an enterprise has been built which makes use of end lyes—which, in the future, will make it possible to use brine without creating waste material.

But this is merely the beginning of the implementation of wide-scale ventures. They include reducing the amount of sulphur in steam coal. In order to remove half the sulphur from coal it is sufficient to use the relatively simple methods of cleaning, while the reduction of the amount of sulphur in a tonne of coal by 1 percent means an approximately 20 kg reduction in ejected sulphur dioxide.

The authorities are permanently concerned to ensure proper working conditions for the work forces. The country's needs dictate the necessity of extraction also on Saturdays. In the immediate future we shall not achieve conditions which would allow us to abandon that requirement. But the number of additional work-free days is going to increase gradually. In response to a postulate from the trade unions and from the former management of the coal and power sector, in accordance with a government decision, this year it is going to go up 7 days; next year, to 9 days, and in subsequent years further still. This, therefore, meets half-way the postulates of the mining work forces.

Esteemed assembly, the annual Barborka day is the holiday of all miners, without exception. It is also a festival of their exemplary, responsible, honest, and disciplined work. This attitude to work, so characteristic of the miners, has a special value which cannot be measured by the results of their toil. We could say without exaggeration that the universalization of this kind of approach to one's duties would be of fundamental importance for a significant reduction in the period of overcoming economic difficulties.

This would also make a decisive contribution to improving the standard and quality of life in Poland and of the Poles. I am deeply convinced that the thanks which I am conveying to the miners today express the feelings of the whole nation. We all wish that their work be calm and safe. I also want to convey equally ardent words of appreciation to all mothers and wives who share with you the joys and concerns of the miner's toil. I wish all

miners satisfaction with their achievements and future success, and also success and happiness in your personal lives. Long live the mining profession! [applause]

Government Views New Ministries, Economy
AU271442 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 24 Nov 87
p 4

[Text] PAP—The Government Press Bureau reports that the Council of Ministers was in session on 23 November and granted ministerial statutes to the following ministries: national education; land use management and construction; labor and social policy; industry; domestic market; transportation, navigation, and communications; economic cooperation with foreign countries; and the Committee for Youth and Sport.

In the next few weeks necessary changes will be made in the statutes of the state administration's supreme and central bodies that were not subjected to the Sejm decisions of 23 October.

In line with the policy of restructuring the central administration, the new statutes eliminate the departmental and sector character of departments and bureaus, and the organizational echelons of the new ministries will perform specified tasks. For example, the single Department of Industrial Policy in the Ministry of Industry will be common for all sections and branches and the single Department of Consumer Articles will deal with the entire retail trade.

The structures of the new ministries have been greatly simplified, and this is also borne out by a crucial reduction in the number of departments and offices. For example, the Ministry of Economic Cooperation with Foreign Countries has now 12 departments instead of 23 formerly. The riders to the new statutes list the units that are under the supervision of the new ministers and those units with regard to which the new ministers play the role of founding bodies.

In line with the executive program of the second stage of economic reform, the Council of Ministers adopted the initial resolutions and decrees that change the powers of the founding bodies. The appropriate decisions increase the independence of enterprises and enable the administrative bodies to implement specified tasks.

The 13 canceled powers of the founding bodies include the power of ministers to evaluate the implementation of the system of material incentives for thrifty consumption of raw and other materials, fuels, and energy; to divide enterprises into groups; and to fix the maximum wages for enterprise managers.

These government decisions are the first step toward fully sorting out the duties and powers of ministers as the founding bodies. The present regulations are scattered in

many legal enactments that do not have the power of law. Further legislative action will be taken to curb the powers of the founding bodies and to more closely define their duties.

The Council of Ministers instructed the ministers concerned to submit by 15 December 1987 the lists of the enterprises that should be transferred to the local authorities.

In line with the 23 October law on the establishment of the Hard Coal Community, at the suggestion of the minister of industry the Council of Ministers drew up a list of 48 enterprises and economic units affiliated with this community.

The legal changes in the structure of the government, which is the supreme executive and managing body of state power, go hand in hand with the necessary changes in the performance methods of the Council of Ministers and the Government Presidium. The methods of these bodies' performance, which was adapted to the exigencies of the second stage of economic reform, were established by the appropriate resolution passed by the Council of Ministers.

This resolution provides for crucial changes in the work organization adopted by the government and its presidium. The powers of these two bodies, which partially overlapped in previous practice, were clearly delineated. The resolution means that the responsibility of the ministers for all the issues and government documents relating to their areas of duties has been increased. In line with the previous practice, the projects worked out by the ministers were submitted to the government through the offices of the vice premiers. The procedures by which government documents are prepared, adopted, consulted, and evaluated have also been comprehensively sorted out.

One of the necessary measures stemming from the restructuring of the center of power is to provide new jobs for the large numbers of people who have become redundant because of the elimination or reorganization of the supreme and central state administrative bodies. The Council of Ministers adopted a bill, which will be submitted to the Sejm, on these workers' entitlements, and a bill on the necessary executive regulations in this connection.

In accordance with the law proposed by the Council of Ministers, if a worker in this category obtains a job in a socialized enterprise for a wage that is lower than his previous wage, he is entitled to receive for 6 months the countervailing compensation equal to the difference between the old and new wage. Also the workers who undergo job retraining and further training in their skills or engage in studies for a doctor's degree will be entitled to receive their previous wages during their training and studies.

The Council of Ministers studied the situation of farming and stressed the importance of the consistent and complete implementation of the executive program relating to the second stage of economic reform and, especially, the implementation of those solutions that seek to ensure the continuous flow of high-quality capital goods for farming and the food economy.

In view of the fact that farmers are afraid that farm production may not be profitable and the cash incomes of the rural population may develop unfavorably because of the proposals of incomes and price policy, which have been published, the Council of Ministers stressed emphatically that these proposals provide for the simultaneous compensation for the increases in the cost of farm production. This compensation will be effected by matching increases in the procurement prices, which fully guarantee the profitability of farm production. It also applies to the results of the increases in the cost of farm production caused by the increases in the cost of capital equipment and production investments and to the fiscal commitments of farmers if there should be any change in them.

The Council of Ministers has again confirmed the inviolability of the principles of farm policy that were adopted by the joint plenum of the PZPR Central Committee and the ZSL Supreme Committee. The obligations resulting from this policy have been incorporated in the National Socioeconomic Plan for 1986-90, which has been adopted by the Sejm.

The Council of Ministers studied a report on the winter preparations in the energy, communal, and housing economy and in transportation and communications. The government has instructed the appropriate ministers, voivodas, and mayors of Warsaw, Krakow, and Lodz to take further action, in line with their administrative powers, in order to primarily ensure that the population's needs are met and that production and trade continue to operate. In particular, they are to plan in good time the necessary measures to be taken in the case of especially bad winter weather. If necessary, ministers, voivodas, and mayors will be granted special powers to take the emergency action they think fit.

Wozniak Interviewed on Economic Reform

AU271306 Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish
20-22 Nov 87 p 3

[Interview with Marian Wozniak, PZPR Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, by Zbigniew Gajewski: "The Philosophy of Reform"—date and place not given]

[Excerpts] [Wozniak] You are a youth paper, and yet you have proposed serious questions.

[Gajewski] Because our readers are also interested in serious matters. For example, they would like to know what the reform is all about. What are the factors that have caused it? The Western press claims it was August [1980]. Is that correct?

[Wozniak] The idea about the need to change from extensive to intensive management methods was proclaimed much earlier than August. As an economist, I myself remember that the first sample of the reform appeared in the 1960's, under the slogan "Economists Discuss the Law of Values." In 1980 I worked in the economic reform commission, and this was still before the events on the coast. However, one can say that that August radicalized our way of thinking and social expectations and made it clear that there was and could be no other road apart from a radical, consistent reform of our economy. If one considers this road as the result of August and socialist renewal, then of course we are faithful to it. But if one believes that thoughts about the economy during August merely boiled down to turning the economy into a political arena, then we disown it.

From the beginning of the 1980's onwards, a cohesive and feasible program of economic change was worked out. It also contained alternative solutions. This program is constantly subject to social criticism. Before this, we carefully examined all the forecasts and recipes of change, regardless of the political sympathies of their authors. In any case, in the final count it is irrelevant when and from whom the reform began, but instead it is important who gave it its final shape and who is implementing it.

[Gajewski] What influence on the reform program did the stance of the World Bank experts have? Some people think their assessment of Poland's economic situation was too positive. Was the report really too gentle on us?

[Wozniak] As I said, when we worked on the "Program of Implementing the Second Stage of the Economic Reform," we availed ourselves of many opinions and analyses, including from the World Bank. Besides, I would recommend that everyone read this document, because it is a valuable and high-class compendium of knowledge about our economy. This 900-page document is the largest and most exhaustive treatise on this subject to have been written outside Poland in recent years.

Indeed, the scope and objectivity of the report clearly depart from certain totally negative domestic assessments, often made by people considering themselves "infallible," though there is little empirical or professional basis for such a claim. It is difficult to believe that the World Bank experts were guided by mercy rather than objectivity in their report. After all, the report is not a work of praise for our economy. Apart from positive opinions about the reform—that its basic provisions have been well thought out, that Polish economic results since 1983 are commendable, that we have rebuilt many spheres of the economy to a higher level than in 1979

without hyperinflation and unemployment—the authors of the report also point out that the economic progress is still insufficient and that faster progress is desirable.

I believe three elements of this report possess particular importance for us: First, its positive assessment of our entire activity to combat the crisis and of the entire reform. Second, its support for the provisions of the second stage of the reform. And third, its indication of what needs to be altered in the 1986-90 National Socio-economic Plan.

[Gajewski] We realize what must be done to heal the economy. So why organize a costly referendum? Could a variant for future development not be chosen by means of consultations or a system of indirect democracy?

[Wozniak] Personally I see no discrepancy between working out a reform program by means of broad consultations and voting for it in a national referendum. [passage omitted]

Please observe that during the referendum we are also meant to answer questions concerning an expansion of political democracy, which would provide extra chances for economic change, because in order to have economic openness one must have political openness at the same time.

[Gajewski] Some people say that after the second stage comes the third...

[Wozniak] I know the jokes that are making their rounds on this subject. When we have honestly implemented the provisions of the second stage, there will be no need for a third. But it is certain that the development of mechanisms of economic functioning must be a long process. [passage omitted]

[Gajewski] Many young people say that the reform is still not radical enough. But there are also those who ask whether the reform is still socialism.

[Wozniak] I am pleased by the first group, because such a stance is the carrier-wave of progress. Concerning the second group, I can tell them that socialism is not a series of economic measures, it is merely a goal served by these measures. For example, if the goal of socialism is free medical treatment, then the more enterprises there are with large profits, the greater the possibilities for free treatment. After all, Lenin himself believed, but this was distorted later, that socialism is more than just electrification and rule by soviets, it is also efficiency in managing the economy just like the American corporations and highly rational banking and financial system. In order to implement the great ideals of humanitarianism, socialism must be much more effective economically. That is why I am in favor of socialist enterprises employing the same instruments as capitalism, provided that social ownership of production resources and a socialized

division of results remain. One must of course continue to seek ways of increasing workers' ties with their enterprise and making them feel masters of it.

[Gajewski] In other words stocks and bonds?

[Wozniak] Yes, among other things. As far as stocks are concerned, I am not so sure. Stocks could mean living not off one's own work, but off capital, and that would be against the principles of socialism.

I wish to take this opportunity to straighten out a few myths that arose during the discussions on the reform. Some say that only reprivatization can really heal the economy, because whatever is state-owned is inefficient. And yet the capitalist world also has state ownership, because without it the implementation of general social goals would be impossible. There, productivity in state firms is also competitive. And yet in the socialist countries, the GDR for example, productivity throughout the entire public sector is twice as high as in the Polish public sector. In other words, it is not the type of ownership that determines economic efficiency, but work organization, organizational structures, and correct proportions between people working in production and people providing services. Talks about reprivatization possess more of a political purpose than anything else, though that does not mean we must avoid drawing other conclusions from it. For I agree that in the so-called state economy, we have so far had too much room for comfortable living and for organizational weaknesses. This is becoming clear as a result of job certification and analyses, and is evident in the considerable distrust of self-certification felt by many economic units. [passage omitted]

We live in times where one must subject to critical verification many previously unaltered principles of social life, and seek solutions that bring real progress and the fulfillment of the most important social goals. We must firmly restore the correct functioning of many institutions, stamp out bureaucracy, and simplify structures, not forgetting that they will all defend themselves against change. We must also eliminate parochial interests, struggles to attain privileges for particular economic branches and other privileges. These are great tasks, but do we have any other way out?

Defense Minister Backs Economic Reforms

LD070153 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2300 GMT
6 Dec 87

[Text] The referendum results do not threaten the idea of economic reform, whose principles will be modified and supplemented, Florian Siwicki said at a meeting of the squadron party organization of the Warszawa, First Fighter Regiment of the National Air Defense Forces. The minister of national defense emphasized that the fundamental restructuring of the economic structures

was an indispensable necessity and nobody who had a sense of responsibility for the fate of the state and the nation's living conditions questioned that.

Baryla, USSR's Ligachev Meet in Paris

LD062041 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
1900 GMT 6 Dec 87

[Excerpts] The French Communist Party Congress has ended. [passage omitted] Jozef Baryla and Yegor Ligachev, heads of the PZPR and CPSU delegations to the Congress met at the Polish Embassy in Paris. They exchanged information on the modernization of the economies of both countries and on perfecting the work of the fraternal parties. They also discussed international issues.

Orzechowski Arrives in Great Britain

LD062151 Warsaw PAP in English 2120 GMT
6 Dec 87

[Text] London, Dec 6—Polish Foreign Minister Marian Orzechowski arrived here today on an official visit at the invitation of British Foreign Secretary Geoffrey Howe.

Minister Orzechowski is to be received by Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and conduct talks with Geoffrey Howe. He is also to meet with British politicians, MPs, scientists and representatives of the Polish community.

Orzechowski and Howe are to sign a Polish-British agreement on promotion and protection of investments. The Polish minister will deliver a lecture at the Royal Institute of International Affairs on "Poland-Europe-Security" and meet with representatives of the British media.

Poland, Austria Establish Visa-Free Travel

LD050015 Warsaw PAP in English 1919 GMT
4 Dec 87

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 4—As of January 1st 1988 Polish and Austrian tourists will be able to travel to the respective countries without having to apply for visas, an official of the Polish Foreign Ministry told PAP Friday.

Tourist traffic will take place on the principles laid down in an agreement on the mutual elimination of the visa requirement signed on July 18th, 1972.

According to the provisions of the agreement the above mentioned regulation does not pertain to people who intend to legally undertake work in Austria.

However, Poles applying for passports for a private trip to Austria still have to present to the passport authorities an invitation certified by a Polish consular office.

Malinowski Receives FRG Parliamentarian

LD262131 Warsaw PAP in English 1233 GMT 26 Nov 87

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 26—Leader of an FRG-Polish parliamentary group in the Bundestag, Deputy Hans Koschnick who is now visiting Poland, was received by Polish parliament's speaker Roman Malinowski here today.

The two talked about cooperation of both parliaments for the cause of developing all-round cooperation between Poland and the FRG, detente, and peaceful co-existence in Europe.

The visit is connected with the inauguration of cooperation between the German-Polish group with its Polish counterpart in the Sejm.

Leaders' Public Appearances 26 Nov-1 Dec

AU041637 [Editorial Report] Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish monitored from 27 November through 2 December reports the following public appearances of Polish leaders (date and page number given in parentheses):

Zbigniew Messner, PZPR Politburo member and chairman of the PPR Council of Ministers, met representatives of the Central Union of "Peasant Self-Help" Cooperatives on 26 November. (27 Nov, p 2)

Zbigniew Messner, PZPR Politburo member and chairman of the PPR Council of Ministers, attended the signing of an agreement in Krakow on 27 November between Krakow city administration and the Polish Academy of Sciences concerning the establishment of a Congress Center for Science and Technology in Krakow. (28-29 Nov, p 5)

Kazimierz Barcikowski, PZPR Politburo member and deputy chairman of the PPR State Council, received Antoni Pierzchala, the new PPR ambassador to Australia, on 30 November. (1 Dec, p 2)

Jozef Czyrek, PZPR Politburo member and PZPR Central Committee secretary, received the following foreign ambassadors on 26 November: Carlos Gonzalez Parrodiogo, outgoing Mexican ambassador; Thierry de Gruenen, Belgian ambassador; Fernando Olivie, Spanish ambassador, and Branko Puharic, SFRY ambassador. (27 Nov, p 11)

Marian Orzechowski, PZPR Politburo member and PPR foreign minister, received Hassan Abduldjalil [spelling as published—FBIS], outgoing Indonesian ambassador on 27 November. (28-29 Nov, p 5)

Henryk Bednarski, PZPR Central Committee secretary and PPR minister of national education, received Andrzej Pilat, chairman of the Association of Centers for Improving Vocational Skills, on 1 December. (2 Dec, p 2)

Minister of Finance Dismissed by Decree
AU051918 Bucharest AGERPRES in English
1900 GMT 5 Dec 87

[“For the Record”—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 5/12/1987—Under presidential decree Alexandru Babe was dismissed from his office of minister of finance of Romania for having failed to fulfil his job obligations.

Gheorghe Paraschiv was appointed minister of finance. Till now he was deputy minister of foreign trade and international economic cooperation.

TANJUG Analyzes ‘Disturbances’ at Brasov
LD031435 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1359 GMT
3 Dec 87

[By Dragan Markovic]

[Text] Bucharest, Dec 3 (TANJUG)—The answer to what happened in Brasov 17 days ago is still not known.

According to the official explanation the factory management and the workers who caused disturbances and broke the discipline are responsible for what happened in the factory.

A decree on a “reorganization” in the production of tractors, transportation vehicles and agricultural machines appeared in the official gazette several days ago. Thus the Brasov-situated headquarters of two industries—for production of tractors and transportation vehicles—were merged into one.

The “centralization” of power in the Brasov-based industry was probably introduced to punish the culprits, but also to prevent similar occurrences.

The carefully formulated statement from the workers’ meeting in the lorry factory avoids to reveal the essence and scope of what happened. Stress was laid on qualifying the behaviour of the workers and management. The assembly has decided to relieve of duty the managers who committed a series of mistakes in work organization and in distributing the income. The rowdy workers were expelled from the factory and it was proposed that their leaders be punished “in accord with the law.”

In deciding whether to keep quiet or to “disclose” what had really happened, official Bucharest chose the middle way and blamed the culprits—the managers and workers who caused disturbances—without giving any details. At the same time, the country was bombarded with foreign propaganda radio containing many half-truths and exaggerations about the scope of the protests.

Ceausescu Notes ‘Shortfalls’ at PEC Meeting
AU042049 Bucharest AGERPRES in English
1852 GMT 4 Dec 87

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 4/12/1987—Under the chairmanship of Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, a meeting of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP was held on Friday, December 4.

During the meeting, Nicolae Ceausescu set forth some conclusions of an analysis made these last few days with ministries, coordinating councils by branches and the government regarding the implementation of the plan for November and the way in which action should be taken to fulfil tasks planned for December. All party organs and organizations, the government, all ministries were asked to take resolute measures to implement the plan for this month in best conditions, considering provisions for export and other indicators as minimal.

The party general secretary stressed that the analysis made evidenced a number of shortfalls in how the council of ministers, the coordinating councils by branches, ministries, other central organs fulfil their role and tasks in the organization and management of the national economy, of all sectors of activity. The speaker stressed that in the current development stage of the Romanian economy, the cardinal issues are the improvement of the style and methods of work of all party and state, organs of all democratic management bodies, the strengthening of their role and responsibility in the proper course of all economic and social activities. The party general secretary asked the government, the ministries, the other leading bodies to make a survey and set forth proposals of tangible measures to be discussed in another meeting of the Executive Political Committee. It was assessed that everything was in place for the plan provisions for December and the whole year to be fulfilled successfully through a better organization of work, enhanced responsibility at all levels and a high sense place, laying thus the foundation for the fulfilment of the plan for next year.

Next, the Executive Political Committee discussed problems related to the preparation and unfolding of the National Conference of the Romanian Communist Party. A number of decisions were adopted regarding the working out of the documents to be debated as well as other measures concerning the organization of the conference.

County Party Conferences Held 5 Dec
AU051730 Bucharest AGERPRES in English
1656 GMT 5 Dec 87

[“Extraordinary Conferences of County Party Organizations”—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 5/12/1987—Saturday, December 5, as many as 22 county party organizations and that of Bucharest Municipality held extraordinary conferences in preparation for the RCP National Conference to be held over 14-16 December this year.

There were present at the extraordinary party conference: Bucharest Municipality—Constantin Olteanu, Bacau County—Ion Radu, Botosani County—Ludovic Fazekas, Brasov County—Constantin Dascalescu, Braila County—Nicolae Giosan, Caras-Severin County—Miu Dobrescu, Calarasi County—Ioan Totu, Cluj County—Gheorghe Oprea, Constanta County—Cornel Pacoste, Covasna County—Ana Muresan, Dolj County—Emil Bobu, Giurgiu County—Constantin Mitea, Hunedoara County—Ion Dinca, Iasi County—Lina Ciobanu, Maramures County—Tudor Postelnicu, Mures County—Radu Balan, Olt County—Vasile Barbulescu, Prahova County—Stefan Andrei, Satu Mare County—Gheorghe Pana, Sibiu County—Stefan Birlea, Teleorman County—Gheorghe David, Timis County—Vasile Milea, Tulcea County—Gheorghe Tanase.

The conferences expressed the profound adhesion of the communists and all the country's citizens to, and their approval of the entire domestic and foreign policy of the RCP and the Romanian state, and the conviction that it meets to the full the fundamental interests of the Romanian nation, meets the general cause of socialism and progress in the world.

Each conference opened with the presentation of the decision of the 27 December meeting of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, the considerations and conclusions of the party general secretary regarding the strengthening of the revolutionary spirit, of the responsibility of the party cadres and active, of all the communists with a view to ensuring the proper progress of the productive activity, to following the way of implementation of the programmes endorsed and to solving the working and living problems of the working people.

The first secretaries of the county party committees and of the Bucharest Municipality presented reports on the activity carried out by the county party organizations for the implementation of the goals set by the 13th Congress of the Party.

The extraordinary conferences of the county party organizations and Bucharest Municipality organization also debated a report regarding the way of application of the programmes of improvement of the economic and social activity, of self-management and self-financing, the expansion of the workers' revolutionary democracy, the active participation of the masses in the working out and implementation of the targets by territorial units.

The participants in the debates examined the essential aspects of the activity carried out over the interval by the party bodies and organizations, the mass and public organizations, the working collectives in towns and villages for the implementation of the goals in the current five-year plan. They also analyzed the shortcomings manifest in the activity carried out by the party bodies and organizations, the collective management bodies,

the communists, the collectives of working people, and proposals were made for removing the deficiencies extant in various sectors of activity.

Aspects of the work in agriculture, the way of implementation of the targets of the new agrarian revolution were thoroughly debated.

Numerous concrete proposals were advanced during the discussions, for the improvement of the activity of the party bodies and organizations, for the unfolding of steady political-educative activity. Special attention was paid to the further improvement of the activity deployed by the bodies of revolutionary worker democracy.

During the conferences, the participants unanimously endorsed the measures taken by the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP of November 27. Measures and actions were established for the consolidation and improvement of the political-educative work.

The extraordinary conferences endorsed special measures for the elimination of the negative states of affairs and the radical improvement of the work style and methods, programs of measures and activities meant to help the integral fulfilment of every county's development plans, the integral fulfilment of the plan tasks for the current year and for the whole five-year period.

The delegates for the National Conference of the Romanian Communist Party were also elected.

At the close of the proceedings, the participants addressed telegrams to Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania.

Andrei Receives Soviet Planning Official
AU041626 Bucharest AGERPRES in English
1608 GMT 4 Dec 87

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 4/12/1987—Stefan Andrei, deputy prime minister of Romania, received on Friday, December 4, V.I. Smyslov, first deputy chairman of the State Planning Committee of the USSR, who paid a visit to Romania.

During the interview, they approached aspects of the further development of the Romanian-Soviet links of economic and technico-scientific collaboration.

Stefan Birlea, chairman of the State Planning Committee, attended the interview.

E.M. Tyazhelnikov, ambassador of the Soviet Union in Bucharest, also attended.

Dascalescu, Oprea Receive Turkish Minister
AU032027 Bucharest AGERPRES in English
2005 GMT 3 Dec 87

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 3/12/1987—On December 3, Romanian Prime Minister Constantin Dascalescu received Kazim Oksay, minister of state of the Republic of Turkey, now visiting Romania.

During the interview the sides looked into aspects of the further development of the economic relations between Romania and Turkey in the spirit of the understandings agreed upon during the recent Romanian-Turkish summit dialogue. The sides considered that possibilities exist for intensifying the bilateral collaboration in various economic domains, to mutual benefit, in the interest of the cause of international peace and understanding.

The same day the minister of state of the Republic of Turkey talks with Gheorghe Oprea, first deputy prime minister.

Delegate Addresses Geneva GATT Meeting
AU032048 Bucharest AGERPRES in English
2013 GMT 3 Dec 87

["Romanian Address at Annual GATT Session"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Geneva, AGERPRES, 3/12/1987—Addressing the 43rd annual GATT session, the Romanian representative showed that GATT had fulfilled its role although various crises emerged. But, while the international economic situation is growing worse, there are trends to take unwise measures, to resort to practices contrary to the GATT spirit. The speaker expressed concern over the growing protectionism and the increase of artificial obstacles to trade, such as the extension of the assignment of quotas, the application of various and often discriminatory restrictions.

In Romania's opinion—he said—it is highly important to maintain and consolidate the differentiated, more favourable treatment for the developing countries and to extend this regime to new domains included in the "Uruguay round" of negotiations, all while the interest aroused by these new domains should not have a negative influence on the traditional domains of goods exchanges.

The Romanian representative pointed to the danger of further neglecting the developing countries' foreign debts. He showed that it were high time to admit openly that as long as true, global solutions were not given to foreign debts, the developing countries stood a poor chance to take an active part in international trade. This was also the message of several other speakers who had referred to a considerable reduction of developing countries' imports, aftermath of the foreign debt burden.

Recalling that back in 1982, at the GATT ministerial meeting, the Romanian delegation set forth Romania's position, President Nicolae Ceausescu's considerations on the basic directions of concerted international action to solve the foreign debt issue, the speaker stressed again the urgency of such an action.

High concern is shown over the tendency to resort to uneconomic criteria and subjective and arbitrary interpretations of the evolution of various countries to justify the non-granting of the most-favoured-nation clause or the refusal to give customs preferences within the generalized scheme of preferences. Such practices which hinder a normal conduct of trade among countries and tend to institutionalize uneconomic criteria for the introduction of new protectionist obstacles, should be firmly rejected. In Romania's opinion, GATT should work more efficiently to eliminate such illegal practices, fully assuming its responsibility and ensuring the universal observance of its norms, the effective protection of the smaller countries' legitimate interests. GATT can and must contribute more to the enforcement of the sovereign equality of all participating countries, the Romanian representative said in conclusion.

Stoian Pays Official Visit to FRG

Meets SPD's Vogel

AU031143 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian
1100 GMT 3 Dec 87

[Text] On foreign news, we want to inform you about an exchange of greetings messages in Bonn between Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu and the chairman of the Social Democratic Party of the FRG, Hans-Jochen Vogel, which took place when Comrade Ion Stoian, candidate member of the PEC and secretary of the RCP Central Committee, was received by the latter.

During the meeting, the two sides stressed the positive relations between the two parties and their mutual desire to continue to develop them. They also exchanged views on current international issues and stressed the need to expand cooperation among all progressive forces and between the Communist, Socialist, Social Democratic, and other parties struggling for an atmosphere of peace and security in Europe and throughout the world.

Meets Mies in Duesseldorf

AU051630 Bucharest AGERPRES in English
1457 GMT 5 Dec 87

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 5/12/1987—Herbert Mies, chairman of the German Communist Party, received a delegation of the Romanian Communist Party, headed by Ion Stoian, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP, now visiting West Germany, in Duesseldorf.

The call occasioned an exchange of warm messages of salute between RCP General Secretary Nicolae Ceausescu and Herbert Mies.

During the talk held on the occasion the sides highlighted both parties' wish to further develop the relations of friendship extant between the RCP and the DKP. They also highlighted the need for the communist and workers' parties and the progressive forces everywhere to join efforts in the struggle to safeguard and maintain peace, for wide collaboration throughout the world.

During the visit to West Germany, Ion Stoian also met Hans Koschnick, member of the Presidium, president of the Commission for International Relations of the Social Democrat Party; Hermann Heinemann, member of the Presidium of the Social Democratic Party, minister in the North Rhine-Westphalia Land Government; Heinz Westphal, vice-president of the Bundestag (SPD); Hans Stercken Bundestag deputy for the Christian Democratic Union, president of the Bundestag Foreign Policy Commission, Klaus Rose, Bundestag deputy for the CDU, president of the West Germany-Romania Parliamentary Group, and Uwe Ronenburger, vice-president of the Free Democratic Party faction in the West-German parliament.

Interviews were also held with Rudolf-Georg von Wartenberg, parliamentary secretary, the Federal Ministry of Economics, chairman for the West-German side in the Joint Commission on Economic Cooperation with Romania, and Otto Wolf von Amarongen, president of the West-German Committee for Economic Relations with the Socialist Countries.

During the talks the sides approached questions related to the collaboration and cooperation between the two countries, particularly to intensifying the commercial exchanges.

Constantin Meets Party Officials in Japan
AU042055 Bucharest AGERPRES in English
1927 GMT 4 Dec 87

[Text] Tokyo, AGERPRES, 4/12/1987—Messages were exchanged between RCP General Secretary Nicolae Ceausescu and Noboru Takeshita, president of the Liberal Democratic party (LDP), prime minister of Japan, and Shintaro Abe, LDP secretary general.

The exchange of messages was occasioned by the meeting Nicolae Constantin, member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, chairman of the Central Party Collegium, had with the LDP secretary general. During the talks questions related to the Romanian-Japanese ties were approached and the joint wish was expressed that they intensify, both in trade and economic cooperation, and in other areas.

Cordial messages were also exchanged between Nicolae Ceausescu and the chairman of the Japan Socialist Party (JSP), Takako Doi, when the latter received Nicolae Constantin. During the talk information was exchanged about the activity and current concern of the two parties and aspects were discussed of the further development of the links between the RCP and the JSP.

Volleyball Player Defects to Netherlands
AU062022 Paris AFP in English 2003 GMT 6 Dec 87

[Text] Sneed, Netherlands, Dec 6 (AFP)—Marina Brinzei, a member of the Romanian volleyball team Universitatea Craiova has requested political asylum in the Netherlands following a European Cup match here.

Brinzei, 25, had helped her club to a 3-1 victory over local club Avero in this small northern Dutch town but when she failed to join the team for their return flight to Bucharest, a search of her hotel room found that her personal effects had disappeared.

A police spokesman revealed that she gave herself up on Sunday afternoon at a local police station shortly after the scheduled departure of her team-mates' flight.

Brinzei will make an official request for asylum on Monday, the spokesman added.

Leaders' Public Appearances 22-28 Nov

AU291541 [Editorial Report] Romanian media 22-28 November report the following public appearances of Romanian leaders (sourcelines given in parentheses):

On 22 November, President Nicolae Ceausescu received Yasir 'Arafat, chairman of the PLO Executive Committee (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1712 GMT 22 Nov).

On 23 November, President Nicolae Ceausescu and wife, Elena Ceausescu, left for an official friendship visit to Egypt (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0740 GMT 23 Nov), where they arrived in the afternoon and were met by Egyptian President Muhammad Husni Mubarak (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1804 GMT 23 Nov); the same day, they laid a wreath at a Cairo memorial (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1812 GMT 23 Nov) and attended an official dinner given in their honor by Egyptian President Mubarak (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1950 GMT 23 Nov); also on the same day, President Nicolae Ceausescu began official talks with Egyptian President Mubarak in Cairo (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1932 GMT 23 Nov).

On 24 November, President Nicolae Ceausescu continued official talks in Cairo with Egyptian President Mubarak (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1820 GMT 24 Nov), and together with his wife visited the 10 Ramadan economic center (Bucharest AGERPRES in

English 1925 GMT 24 Nov); the same day, Elena Ceausescu met with Egyptian scientists (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1935 GMT 24 Nov).

On 25 November, President Nicolae Ceausescu and Egyptian President Mubarak signed a long-term agreement on economic cooperation (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1405 GMT 25 Nov); the same day, President Nicolae Ceausescu returned to Bucharest from his Egyptian visit (Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1100 GMT 25 Nov).

On 26 November, President Nicolae Ceausescu received the defense ministers of the Warsaw Pact countries who attended a meeting in Bucharest (Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1800 GMT 26 Nov).

On 27 November, President Nicolae Ceausescu received the credentials of the Lebanon's new ambassador to Bucharest, Emile Bedran (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1903 GMT 27 Nov); the same day, he chaired a PEC meeting on the expulsion of Dolj County officials from the party (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 2018 GMT 27 Nov).

On 24 November, Constantin Mitea, secretary of the RCP Central Committee, and Suzana Gadea, chairman of the Council for Socialist Culture and Education, received PRC Minister of Culture Wang Meng (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1920 GMT 24 Nov).

On 28 November, Ion Coman, member of the PEC and secretary of the RCP Central Committee, Colonel General Vasile Milea, candidate member of the PEC of the RCP Central Committee and minister of national defense, and Lieutenant General Ilie Ceausescu, deputy minister of national defense, received a Soviet military delegation led by Army General A.D. Lizichev, chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Department (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1543 GMT 28 Nov).

On 28 November, the following PEC members attended extraordinary conferences of party committees in 18 counties: Ion Coman, in Alba; Vasile Barbulescu, in Arad; Gheorghe Tanase, in Arges; Gheorghe Pana, in Bihor; Tudor Postelnicu, in Bistrita-Nasaud; Ion Stoian, in Buzau; Emil Bobu, in Dimbovita; Radu Balan, in Galati; Ion Dinca, in Gorj; Ion Radu, in Harghita; Cornel Pacoste, in Ialomita; Stefan Andrei, in Mehedinti; Ludovic Fazekas, in Neamt; Gheorghe Oprea, in Salaj; Stefan Birlea, in Suceava; Lina Ciobanu, in Vaslui; Ioan Ursu, in Vilcea; and Nicolae Giosan, in Vrancea (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1924 GMT 28 Nov).

On 23 November, Mihai Gere, candidate member of the PEC of the RCP Central Committee, presented RCP's message of greetings to the 39th Congress of the Socialist Party of Uruguay in Montevideo (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1808 GMT 23 Nov); on 25 November, he met with Rodney Arismendi, general secretary of the

Communist Party of Uruguay (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1945 GMT 25 Nov); and on 27 November he met with Jose Pedro Cardozo, acting president of the Socialist Party of Uruguay (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1253 GMT 26 Nov).

On 23 November, Romanian Deputy Prime Minister Constantin Radu and Zimbabwean Finance Minister Bernard Chidzero signed the protocol of the fifth session of the Joint Romanian-Zimbabwean Governmental Commission on Economic and Technical Cooperation in Harare (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1810 GMT 23 Nov).

On 24 November, Ioan Toma, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Union of Communist Youth, addressed a Romanian-Bulgarian youth rally in the Romanian city of Pitesti (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1928 GMT 24 Nov).

On 26 November, Romanian Deputy Prime Minister Lina Ciobanu received Bulgarian Deputy Premier Georgi Karamanev (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1912 GMT 26 Nov).

On 27 November, Ana Muresan, minister of domestic trade, received Bulgarian Deputy Premier Georgi Karamanev (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1911 GMT 27 Nov).

On 27 November, Deputy Prime Minister Stefan Andrei received Mehdi Mir-Moezi, Iranian deputy minister of plan and budget (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1918 GMT 27 Nov).

On 27 November, Dumitru Radu Popescu, member of the Executive Bureau of the National Council of the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front, addressed a Bucharest meeting of solidarity with the Palestinian people (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 2019 GMT 27 Nov).

On 27 November, Deputy Prime Minister Neculai Ibanescu attended Mauritanian Embassy reception on Mauritania's national day (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 2042 GMT 27 Nov).

On 27 November, Ion Stoian, candidate member of the PEC and secretary of the RCP Central Committee, attended an SFRY Embassy reception on Yugoslavia's national day (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 2040 GMT 27 Nov).

On 28 November, Nicolae Constantin, member of the PEC of the RCP Central Committee, presented RCP's message to the 18th Congress of the Japanese Communist Party in Tokyo (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1254 GMT 28 Nov).

Leaders' Public Appearances 29 Nov-5 Dec

AU052012 [Editorial Report] Romanian media from 29 November-5 December report the following public appearances of Romanian leaders (sourcelines given in parentheses):

On 30 November, President Nicolae Ceausescu grants an interview to a Syrian journalist (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1351 GMT 30 Nov).

On 30 November, President Nicolae Ceausescu welcomed Hafiz al-Asad, president of the Syrian Arab Republic, on arrival (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1136 GMT 30 Nov); received the latter's courtesy call (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1816 GMT 30 Nov); began official talks with al-Asad (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1859 GMT 30 Nov); and exchanged toasts with the Syrian president at dinner (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1935 GMT 30 Nov).

On 1 December, President Nicolae Ceausescu had two rounds of official talks with Syrian President al-Asad: one round in the morning (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1125 GMT 1 Dec); and another round in the afternoon (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 2031 GMT 1 Dec); the same day, Ceausescu and al-Asad visited Bucharest units (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1615 GMT 1 Dec) and signed a trade agreement (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 2037 GMT 1 Dec).

On 2 December, President Nicolae Ceausescu saw off Syria's al-Asad on the latter's departure from Romania (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0906 GMT 2 Dec); the same day, President Ceausescu received Mozambican Agriculture Minister Joao dos Santos Ferreira (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 2043 GMT 2 Dec).

On 4 December, President Nicolae Ceausescu chaired a meeting of the PEC of the RCP Central Committee (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1852 GMT 4 Dec).

On 3 December, Prime Minister Constantin Dascalescu and First Deputy Prime Minister Gheorghe Oprea received Turkish Minister of State Kazim Oksay (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 2005 GMT 3 Dec).

On 5 December, the following PEC members attended extraordinary conferences of party committees in 22 counties and Bucharest Municipality: Constantin Olteanu, in Bucharest; Ion Radu, in Bacau; Ludovic

Fazekas, in Botosani; Constantin Dascalescu, in Brasov; Nicolae Giosan, in Braila; Miu Dobrescu, in Caras-Severin; Ioan Totu, in Calarasi; Gheorghe Oprea, in Cluj; Cornel Pacoste, in Constanta; Ana Muresan, in Covasna; Emil Bobu, in Dolj; Constantin Mitea, in Giurgiu; Ion Dinca, in Hunedoara; Lina Ciobanu, in Iasi; Tudor Postelnicu, in Maramures; Radu Balan, in Mures; Vasile Barbulescu, in Olt; Stefan Andrei, in Prahova; Gheorghe Pana, in Satu Mare; Stefan Birlea, in Sibiu; Gheorghe David, in Teleorman; Vasile Milea, in Timis; Gheorghe Tanase, in Tulcea (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1656 GMT 5 Dec).

On 1 December, Nicolae Constantin, member of the PEC of the RCP Central Committee and chairman of the Central Party Collegium, met with Japanese CP leaders in Tokyo (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1243 GMT 1 Dec); on 4 December, he met with Noboru Takeshita, president of the Liberal Democratic Party of Japan, and with Takako Doi, chairman of the Japanese Socialist Party (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1927 GMT 4 Dec).

On 2 December, Ion Stoian, candidate member of the PEC and secretary of the RCP Central Committee, met with FRG Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher in Bonn (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 2052 GMT 2 Dec); on 3 December, Ion Stoian met with Hans Jochen Vogel, chairman of the SPD of the FRG (Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1100 GMT 3 Dec); and on 5 December he met with Herbert Mies, chairman of the German Communist Party, with Hans Koschnick, member of the SPD presidium, with Rudolf-Georg von Wartenberg, parliamentary secretary and chairman of the West German side in the Joint Romanian-FRG Commission for Economic Cooperation, with Otto Wolf von Amarongen, president of the West German Committee for Economic Relations with Socialist Countries, and with other officials (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1457 GMT 5 Dec).

On 4 December, Deputy Prime Minister Stefan Andrei received V.I. Smyslov, first deputy chairman of the USSR State Planning Committee (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1608 GMT 4 Dec).

On 4 December, Ion Coman, member of the PEC and secretary of the RCP Central Committee, presented RCP's message of greetings to the PCF Congress in Paris (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1717 GMT 4 Dec).

LCY Central Committee Session Opens
*LD070859 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 0821 GMT 7 Dec 87*

[Text] Belgrade, 7 Dec (TANJUG)—The 2-day session of the LCY Central Committee began in the Grand Hall of the SFRY Assembly in Belgrade this morning. Today, the first day of the proceedings, the members of the highest party forum are expected to discuss the topical ideo-political questions of the economic and development policy for 1988. Proceedings from the importance of this topic, the LCY Central Committee Presidium has also prepared draft conclusions on the tasks of the LC in this area which will be discussed today by the Central Committee members.

The plan for tomorrow is the adoption of the concept of the preparations and substance of the work of the LCY conference that is due to be held at the beginning of next year: the adoption of the conclusions and implementation of constitutionality and legality, a topic discussed during the previous plenum; and the adoption of the stances and conclusions of the LCY Central Committee on Fadilj Hodza's responsibility. The Central Committee members are also due to approve a program for their work next year.

Belgrade LC Presidium Denounces Stambolic
*AU042132 Pristina Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian
2000 GMT 4 Dec 87*

[Text] At its session today, the Presidium of the City Committee of the LC Organization of Belgrade accepted a request from Ivan Stambolic, president of the Presidency of Serbia, for his letter to the City Committee Presidium, dated 17 September, be published in public information media. Adopting this decision, the City Committee Presidium this evening presented its own position on the entire case. The text of the statement, which also contains the said letter, reads:

The Position of the Presidium of the City Committee of the LC Organization of Belgrade on Ivan Stambolic's Request:

At its session on 4 December 1987, the City Committee Presidium adopted the following position:

On 26 November 1987, on the eve of the holiday, Ivan Stambolic, president of the Presidency of Serbia, addressed to the President of the City Committee of the LC Organization of Belgrade a request that his secret letter to the City Committee Presidium of 17 September 1987 be published. This could not be done, above all, because the City Committee is not in possession of Ivan Stambolic's letter. Dragisa Pavlovic brought this letter to a closed session of the City Committee Presidium, read it, and took it with him. The letter was not registered or filed in the City Committee archives.

Assessing this request by Ivan Stambolic, the City Committee Presidium believes that publishing the contents of this letter outside the context of the political environment when it was written objectively means a new attempt to affirm the stands rejected at the eighth plenum of the Central Committee of the LC of Serbia.

The Presidium of the City Committee of the LC Organization of Belgrade therefore considers it necessary that, along with publishing this version of Ivan Stambolic's letter, it should publicly present the facts and circumstances that shed light on the background of Ivan Stambolic's act, as well as its position regarding his overall conduct immediately before and after the eighth session of the Central Committee of the LC of Serbia.

By sending his secret letter, Ivan Stambolic with leader-like self-confidence, invested his prestige and his authority as president of the Presidency of Serbia in defense of positions that were assessed at the eighth session of the Central Committee of the LC of Serbia as being in opposition to the LC policy. The manner in which he did it is unprecedented in LC practice and is alien to the essence and the principles of the workers vanguard. There has been no case of a man putting himself in such a position, above the LC organs and organizations.

Ivan Stambolic, like any other member, cannot be called politically to account for the views he expressed at a session of the Central Committee of which he is a member, supporting Dragisa Pavlovic's position. However, he can and should be called politically to account for an unprincipled attempt to impose his views on an LC organ, of which he is not even a member, for the purpose of confrontation with higher LC organs.

Taken as a whole, it is not a matter solely of the letter and its content, nor of what he advocated at the eighth session, but it is a matter of a continuous conduct incongruous with the practice and relations in the LC.

The City Committee Presidium believes that some causes of our social, economic, and obviously moral crises should certainly be searched for in such occurrences and behavior. The differentiation that has begun, therefore, inspires the hope that the LC will successfully enhance its ideological and political ability as a condition for getting out of the crisis through socialist self-management, and not through bureaucratic usurpation and willfulness.

In conclusion, the Presidium stresses that with the request that his letter be published Ivan Stambolic assumed all responsibility for the political consequences that may arise from it, particularly since the City Committee Presidium notes with regret that in this grave economic, social, and political situation, Ivan Stambolic's request and conduct has put it in a position where it must again deal with problems on which it had taken clear positions and where it considers the discussion completed.

Serbian Presidency on Constitutional Changes

LD261225 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1220 GMT 25 Nov 87

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 25 Nov (TANJUG)—Following the provincial assemblies, which unfortunately failed to endorse some of the key points in the proposal, the Serbian Assembly will soon also give its views on the Serbian Presidency's proposals to amend the Republic's Constitution.

The Serbian Presidency decided this today at a session presided over by Ivan Stambolic, following a very heated debate prompted by the introductory report submitted by Aleksandar Mitrovic, member of the Serbian Presidency. In an unusual development, as many as 25 reporters and journalists from the three TV centers were present.

In no ambiguous terms, Mitrovic said that by failing to endorse the key points in the proposal, the autonomous provinces are, in practice, blocking amendments to the republic's Constitution, thus aggravating relations within Serbia. Having noted the prolonged and, very often, arduous work in cooperation with the provincial organs to launch the initiative for amending the republic's Constitution, Mitrovic went on to sum up the outcome of the debate on the initiative so far conducted in the republic and the provincial assemblies.

The Presidium of the Serbian LC Central Committee, the Presidium of the Serbian SAWP Republican Conference, the President of the Serbian TU Council, and the Serbian SUBNOR [Federation of Veteran's Associations of Yugoslavia] endorsed the proposal in its entirety. They stressed that it is based on the platform that the LC fights for and that its content is in line with congress documents and the SFRY Presidency's proposal for amending the SFRY Constitution, Mitrovic said. [passage omitted]

Mitrovic said that the most important thing is that all the assemblies of municipalities support the proposed initiative for amending the Serbian Constitution and that the majority of them support the proposal as a whole, but one sector, the assemblies in the provinces, supports the need for constitutional changes but gives agreement only on those issues suggested to them by the constitutional commissions of the assemblies of the socialist autonomous provinces. Mitrovic noted that certain assemblies of municipalities in the provinces had only examined the proposal of their own constitutional commissions and not the entire proposal of the Serbian Presidency. This is certainly an unprincipled approach, he said, and dismisses the proposal of the Serbian Presidency. [passage omitted]

It appears that there is still a fear—which is without any evidence, argument, or even reason—that in later phases, phases to draft and propose the amendments, the door opened to changes in the Serbian Constitution will

be abused, and that things will go beyond the presently agreed on framework of the initiative, Mitrovic said. This is a kind of lack of trust without any essential foundation, and this is why the documents received from the assemblies of the provinces differ somewhat in form and to a lesser extent in content, but have certain essential identical characteristics.

They are imbued, Mitrovic explained, with the distancing of the provinces from any amendments to the Serbian Constitution, that is from any affairs and relations in the republic that are regulated by its Constitution outside the circle of so-called joint functions of the republic (in Article 300 of the Serbian Constitution) and certain provisions which directly affect the position of the provinces in Serbia.

The documents submitted by the provinces reiterate the standpoint that the provinces see themselves as part of Serbia only in some aspects of the common legislature while in every other aspect they behave as equal republics. Aleksandr Mitrovic went on. The proposal by the Serbian Presidency is not viewed as a whole, he noted, adding that any changes to the republic's Constitution, if carried out through changing a greater or smaller number of the proposal's points, would fail to produce the overall social effects envisioned at the beginning. Changes carried out in this way would be something completely different, with no capacity to solve problems specific to Serbia but would simply perpetuate the problems and indefinitely postpone their solution. It is obvious even now what the consequences would be.

The documents sent from the provinces and, in particular, political pronouncements made recently by representatives of the provinces often indicate a desire to create the impression that agreement has been reached on the majority of issues, that many of the outstanding problems have been settled through joint efforts made so far, and that the remaining ones can be surmounted with a small amount of goodwill. However, this is not true, Mitrovic said.

The rejection of the proposed amendments, which aim at enabling Serbia to successfully carry out some of the most vital, constitutionally assigned functions, has, according to Mitrovic, been a characteristic of the provinces' attitude over a long period of time. He specified these functions as being in the areas of national defense, security, the judiciary, social and urban planning, and purely state functions.

The points contained in the proposals and the views expressed in them do not carry the same weight or significance. Those parts of the constitutional documents in which the provinces, at all stages of the work so far, have refused to accept any need for changes, however, are of such importance that all other proposed changes, on which the provinces have agreed or have expressed positive views about, lose their purpose,

meaning, and effects. They become completely inadequate as a means of overcoming and suppressing the main generators of the prolonged political crisis in the republic.

Aleksandar Mitrovic also criticized the provinces for very often using "arguments," which have nothing to do with the amendments, to deny the need for and the possibility that the constitutional changes could provide the republic with more efficient and consistent functioning in the spheres of national defense, security, judiciary, and other purely state functions. To illustrate this, he noted the view that maintains that the amendments were designed to force the provinces into a more unfavorable economic position and to enable their income to be drained off within the SR of Serbia to the detriment of the working class in the provinces. This is totally unfounded.

Another unacceptable example of this, Mitrovic said, is the insistence by the provinces that the proposed amendments are likely to threaten some of the guaranteed freedoms and rights enjoyed by the working people and citizens in the provinces, especially the right to "equality of our nations and nationalities" within the SR of Serbia. However, no concrete example has been put forward to demonstrate how these freedoms and rights can be threatened by, for instance, organizing national defense in such a way as to provide a part of the plan common to the defense plan for the entire republic.

Drawing attention to some other instances of opposition to the amendments in the republic's Constitution without producing valid arguments, Aleksandar Mitrovic ended this part of his report by saying that the reasons for refusing to endorse the amendments can in no way lie in the desire to protect the actual autonomy of the provinces and the freedom and rights of their citizens, nations and nationalities, but are likely to be found in the need to preserve the type of relations that puts the provinces on an equal footing with the republics. As an inevitable consequence, he said, the SR of Serbia has been reduced to the border of Serbia proper and prevented from constituting itself as a republic. [passage omitted]

Invoking the common interests of the Serbian and other nations and nationalities in the SR of Serbia, Mitrovic said that by failing to agree on the key issues, the autonomous provinces are, in fact, obstructing the proposed amendments, thus further aggravating relations within the SR of Serbia that have become a sore point in relations in Yugoslavia overall.

In light of all this and proceeding from an insistence that nothing of the kind should be allowed to happen and that additional efforts should be made to remove disagreements, Mitrovic stressed the need for one more attempt in the Serbian and provincial assemblies to resolve the situation. It should, however, be borne in mind that no empty and formal compromises will be allowed, which

will only serve to perpetuate the same state of misunderstanding and disunity in relations within the SR of Serbia and cause even deeper complications of unforeseeable consequences.

It is difficult to see how the Republic's Constitution can be changed if those provisions that 10 years ago caused the crisis in political relations in the republic remain untouched, Ivan Stambolic said. He was speaking following a debate in which the presidents of the provincial presidencies expressed their disagreement with the introductory report.

Any further delay in resolving these problems would harm the vital interests of the working people and citizens, nations and nationalities in the SR of Serbia and would also be hard to justify, Stambolic said. The coming debate in the Serbian assembly will, perhaps, show that some of the points in the proposal to amend the republic's Constitution can be formulated differently. It is, however, important to ensure, Stambolic concluded, that the need itself for specifying these constitutional provisions or the need for Serbia to function as a unique sociopolitical community or state is not questioned.

This conclusion was based on the debate in which the majority of the Presidency's members approved of Aleksandar Mitrovic's introductory report and assessed as good the move to request information about the outcome of the initial consultations in the republic on the initiative to amend the republic's Constitution. It was also stressed that the issue can no longer remain an internal matter for the leaderships to settle as the obvious and vital differences can no longer be hushed up.

The first participant in the debate, the president of the Vojvodina Presidency, Djordje Radosavljevic, who was later joined by the slightly more moderate discussion of Bajram Seljani, president of the Presidency of the SAP [Socialist Autonomous Province] of Kosovo, did not agree with the introductory report by Aleksandar Mitrovic. Both Radosavljevic and Bajrami described the report as "scandalous" and rejected the assessments of the provincial assemblies' standpoints.

Radosavljevic said that in Vojvodina the work on the changes was carried out responsibly with large-scale consultations and reliance on the broad delegate base. He protested that the scale of the provinces' was exaggerated and the points over which agreement existed underestimated. He said that Mitrovic's report could not serve as the platform for future work. He said that people are being discredited, attempts are being made to sow division between the leaderships in the provinces and the grassroots and went on to ask who, as he put it, needed this kind of speculation.

Bajram Seljani advocated greater respect for the arguments in the debates and said it would be worth continuing work on the constitutional changes in the further assembly procedure, expressing his belief that in this way, draft amendments could be reached.

The Presidency of the SR of Serbia does not have the authority, Vukoje Bulatovic said, to abandon the initiative for amending the Republican Constitution. He noted that the fact cannot be disregarded that it is a matter of rejecting the essential stances of this initiative and that further work is impossible without taking this into account, without political debate on the matter.

Sveta Bozic remarked that Serbia is a republic in which there are two republics and one narrower region, and these republics are currently provinces, and that this is a scandalous situation that we must get out of. He questioned whether it is democratic form when certain municipalities (meaning Vojvodina) first agreed to the whole package of proposals for amending the republican Constitution, and then 7 days later said that that had been a printing error. For Bozic there is no other alternative: Either, he said, we will continue to go along with the fact that Serbia is a narrow region with two republics, or we will change this. If this is not changed, this Presidency must submit its resignation and make way for another which would carry through this initiative.

Ljubisa Igic warned that blocking constitutional changes can also be a serious source of nationalism of all kinds, and that the leadership of the Republic should assess where all this is leading. Igic also complained at the scholarly thinking that has been incapable, up until now, of offering a united and professional view of certain issues of statehood, while Branislav Ikonc noted that these conflicts between republic and provinces cannot be reduced to formal relations. [passage omitted]

FEC on 'Unfavorable' Situation in Kosovo
AU291856 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian
4 Nov 87 p 4

[“Excerpts” from FEC report on the implementation of the Federal Chamber conclusions on halting the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo through the period of 1 July 1986 to 30 June 1987]

[Excerpts] Despite the numerous activities of the LC and other social subjects, including the measures taken by the security organs, services, and other bodies in charge of social self-protection, the political and security situation in the Socialist Autonomous Province [SAP] of Kosovo continues to be unfavorable. The counterrevolutionary activity of Albanian nationalists and separatists is still strong, although it has been manifested through somewhat changed forms and methods. The most serious problems burdening the political situation in the SAP of Kosovo lie in the fact that Serbs and Montenegrins are still emigrating at an unchanged pace and that intranational relations are worsening. [passage omitted]

A 12-member illegal group of Albanian nationalists and separatists, which operated and had 10 contacts on the territory of Pec and Istok, was uncovered at the end of 1986. Criminal charges were filed against 10 members of this group, while two members were charged for misdemeanors.

In June 1987, another illegal group operating in the territory of Titova Mitrovica was uncovered. Criminal charges were filed against five members of this group, who were detained in custody.

In the above-mentioned period in the SAP of Kosovo, criminal charges were filed against 26 people, while charges for misdemeanors were filed against 149 people of the Albanian nationality for various activities from positions of Albanian nationalism and separatism.

Albanian nationalists and separatists wrote 887 slogans and distributed 47 leaflets in various parts of the province with the aim of spreading nationalist and separatist ideas.

The picture of Josip Broz Tito was damaged on 57 occasions (it was damaged 24 times in one Prizren primary school alone). There were 40 occasions on which flags were damaged (the SFRY flag was damaged on 17 occasions, the LCY flag on 2 occasions, the flag of the SR of Serbia on 7 occasions, and the flag of the Albanian nationality on 14 occasions).

On 58 occasions, criminal charges were filed against Albanians for threatening the personal safety of Serbs and Montenegrins and their property and 370 charges for misdemeanors.

In the same period, five criminal charges were filed against Serbs and Montenegrins for threatening the personal safety of Albanians and their property and 370 charges for misdemeanors. [passage omitted]

There were 16 cases concerning destruction or damage to gravestones (13 in Orthodox and 2 in Muslim cemeteries, while on 1 occasion damage was caused to a monument to the national liberation struggle). On six occasions more than one grave was damaged. The authorities identified 15 persons responsible for destroying and desecrating graves (12 Albanians, 3 Serbs and Montenegrins).

The stoning of trains and other public transportation vehicles occurred on 33 occasions. There were also 83 fires and explosions and 50 accidents registered. The causes for about 50 percent of these fires, explosions, and accidents have not been established.

Between July and December 1986, there were 17 cases of fires on the property belonging to Serbs and Montenegrins and 4 fires on the property belonging to Serbian Orthodox Church for which causes have not been established.

In the same period there were 28 cases of fire to the Albanian-owned property for which causes are still unknown. [passage omitted]

In the last year, Serbs and Montenegrins showed a great degree of self-organization in expressing their requests and demands for ensuring the normal life conditions in the SAP of Kosovo. Their manifestations were massive and were characterized by self-consciousness.

The conduct of Serbs and Montenegrins in this period (trips to Belgrade, gatherings in Kosovo Polje, discussion with Slobodan Milosevic, president of the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium, talks with Milanko Renovica, then president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, and particularly the group arrival of a group of citizens during the Ninth LCY Central Committee session in Belgrade) showed to a great extent that they have lost trust in the legitimate state and political organs of the SAP of Kosovo and that they demand the protection of the appropriate organs in the SR of Serbia and the SFRY. The dissatisfaction and lack of trust by the majority of Serbs and Montenegrins in the legitimate state and political institutions in the SAP of Kosovo, in addition to having political implications, also has very important security implications. [passage omitted]

Emigrants' Pressure [subhead]

In this period, the hostile emigrants of Albanian origin were very active in the subversive-propaganda field directed toward our emigrants and citizens of Albanian nationality abroad, toward certain circles abroad (in the United States, Switzerland, and Sweden) and toward Yugoslavia.

The leadership and some groups of the Movement for Albanian Socialist Republic in Yugoslavia (PASRJ), performed significant activities on propagating terrorist activities and on certain preparations for conducting diversionist and terrorist activities in our country and abroad (the supply of diversionist and terrorist material, recruiting, and training of recruits, etc).

In their attempt to internationalize the "Albanian Question in Yugoslavia," Albanian emigrants directed special activities toward the United Nations. They organized demonstrations in front of the U.N. offices in Geneva and New York, sent various petitions and other anti-Yugoslav propaganda material to the United Nations and other public political organizations in the world, particularly in the United States, Switzerland, and Sweden.

The activities of hostile Albanian emigrants were helped by the fact that some countries treat their views and demands with friendliness, that various quasi-humanitarian and political organizations stand behind their views, that some newspapers are forthcoming, and so forth. Albanian nationalists and separatists and hostile Albanian emigrants have been receiving particularly

strong support from Albanian intelligence and other factors, either in their public appearances or through various official propaganda channels. Several centers have been located in the world from which the Albanian diplomatic and intelligence services provide support and direct the activities of hostile Albanian emigrants and Albanian nationalists and separatists in our country.

Further on Kosovo Situation

AU291900 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian
5 Nov 87 p 4

["Excerpts" from FEC report on implementation of the Federal Chamber conclusions on the halting of emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo through the period of 1 July 1986 to 30 June 1987]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] In 1986, there were 68,000 more completed court cases than in the previous year and, despite the increase in inflow of new cases, the number of unsolved cases was reduced from 119,000 to 90,000. A number of older cases dating back to more than 1 year have also been concluded. Cases in which parties are of different nationalities have been dealt with more quickly. [passage omitted]

The data on adults convicted in Kosovo show that economic crime is on the increase. In 1985 the courts prosecuted 1,189 people for crimes against the economy, socially owned property, and the performance of official duties, while in 1986 the number rose to 1,584, an increase of 33.2 percent. The majority of people were prosecuted for crimes involving forestry thefts and the usurpation of land and socially owned property. Fewer people were convicted for criminal acts concerning damage or benefit caused to associated labor organizations. The majority of those convicted were convicted for the criminal act of embezzlement (in 1985 there were 94 cases, in 1986 there were 117 cases) and graft (in 1985 there were 31 cases and in 1986 there were 95 cases).

The provincial public prosecutor, the reports states, using the amendments to the law on legal procedures, demanded that verdicts in 166 cases concerning the sale of property between the parties of different nationality be rescinded in order to establish whether the sale was legal. The Supreme Court of Kosovo takes such requests into account, rescinds the verdicts of lower courts, and sends them back for a new hearing. In about 10 cases currently taking place, legal proceedings have been started by some citizens in order to rescind agreements regarding the sale of property signed under duress. [passage omitted]

Zagreb Court Rejects Writer's Appeal

AU291546 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian
5 Nov 87 p 12

[Text] Zagreb, 4 Nov (TANJUG)—The Appeals Council of the Zagreb District Court rejected the appeal of the accused, Dobroslav Paraga, who was given a suspended

sentence of 6 months imprisonment and banned from making public appearances in the press, on television, and at public gatherings for 3 years by a communal court for the criminal act of spreading false information.

Confirming the original sentence the Council decided that Paraga's appeal is unfounded and that the court of original jurisdiction had conducted the procedure in a proper legal fashion, had properly established the facts, and had correctly assessed the social dangers of Dobroslav Paraga's activities.

Paraga was sentenced because of the biased and malicious description in the Slovene Youth magazine *MLADINA* of his stay in the penal-corrective institutions of Goli Otok and Lepoglava.

Youth President Discusses Multiparty System
AU291627 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian
25 Nov 87 p 6

["They Said So..." column: "'Bohinj Declaration' Disputable"; from speech by Milan Janjic, president of the Yugoslav Socialist Youth Federation, at a session of the Presidium of the SAWPY Federal Conference; date not given]

[Text] From the West, we received Marxism and the precursors of the workers' movement; the automobile and the Nazis also came from the West; therefore it is irrelevant whether or not somebody is under the influence of the West. Very varied orientations on social movements, with clear ideological precepts, exist in the West. For instance, ecocommunism [ekokomunizam], ecosocialism [ekosocijalizam], ecoliberalism [ekoliberalizam], ecoconservatism [ekokonzervativizam] and rightist ecological extremism, and so forth.

For us, we must address what has reached us. I think that this is the essence. Analyzing the articles, we could unfortunately conclude that a qualification referring to liberalism or conservatism is most applicable, at least regarding the leaders of the movements. The latest issue of *MLADINA* shows that this is true. It carries an article under the title "Bohinj Declaration." The article asserts that participants in social events [pripadnici društvenih zbivanja] and representatives of the Socialist Youth Federation of Slovenia met at Bohinj on 7 November. Proceeding from the thesis that political scope is lacking in our country, they believe that a reorganization of the youth should be carried out at an extraordinary congress. Eight points were made in this connection, but I will cite only four.

It is requested that the Socialist Youth Federation of Yugoslavia should be organized on the level of political engineering, and that it should be established as a political party, that social movements should establish an assembly of the movements and that they be set up as parties, demanding representatives in the Assembly and in the SAWP. It is also asserted that, since the present

authorities are not capable of drafting a Constitution, an alternative Constitution should be prepared. Nobody has yet denied this. However, the matter is clear. They continue to advocate a multiparty system. All this indicates the danger that we accept from the West only the conservative aspects and the aspects that coincide with national liberal renaissance, and occurrences in some of our communities are a serious warning in this direction. Do not misunderstand me: I am not thinking of Slovenia, where the movements are most developed. The movements again pose the question of relations of man and nature in an industrial society and thus represent the critics of this society, pointing out the problems; and they deserve praise for their ecological and anti-nuclear movements... But certain currents appear inside these movements, and on the behalf of other interests they do not move in the direction of human freedom and the class struggle of workers. Therefore, they are not progressive and they deserve criticism.

Rules for Religious Gatherings Established
LD061756 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1723 GMT
6 Dec 87

[Text] Belgrade, Dec 6 (TANJUG)—Only the confessions which have religious communities in Yugoslavia can organize religious gatherings on Yugoslav territory, as the Socialist Alliance of the Working People of Yugoslavia, the largest socio-political organization in the country, has established after reviewing initiatives raised by foreign religious organizations for organizing gatherings on Yugoslav territory.

Religious gatherings organized in Yugoslavia must be devoted to religious matters, and should they deal with socio-political problems and relations in the world they must do so in keeping with the Yugoslav Constitution and other Yugoslav laws and within the frameworks of the U.N. Charter and relevant international conventions, as the socialist alliance has set out.

Religious gatherings cannot deal with topics conducive to bloc rivalry and confrontation and cannot be used for attacks on third countries, as underscored.

Religious gatherings cannot be used for addressing appeals, forwarding messages or adopting resolutions which offend members of other confessions or the dignity of other countries.

The organizers of religious gatherings have to pledge in writing that they will observe the set "rules of behaviour".

Yugoslavia's openness to various international gatherings has even up to now included the possibility of international religious gatherings. The possibility has, however, rarely been used and most often for gatherings with a smaller number of participants.

The largest international religious gathering in Yugoslavia to date was held in Ljubljana in the spring of 1986, at the initiative of the council centre of Taize, France. The gathering, held under the name "A Pilgrimage of Faith on Earth", was attended by 5,000 young people of different confessions from a number of foreign countries and Yugoslavia.

Foreign religious communities are interested in organizing different types of gatherings in Yugoslavia. The European Council of Baptist Churches and the Calvinist World Alliance have already submitted requests to that effect.

Mikulic Departs for GDR To Meet With Stoph
*LD070825 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 0751 GMT 7 Dec 87*

[Text] Belgrade, 7 Dec (TANJUG)—FEC President Branko Mikulic left for an official visit to the GDR this morning where, with his host, Premier Willi Stoph, he will have talks on bilateral cooperation, the situation in Europe, East-West relations, the disarmament process, and other questions of joint interest.

FEC Member Radovan Makic and Budimir Loncar, deputy federal secretary for foreign affairs, left for Berlin together with the FEC president.

At Belgrade airport, Branko Mikulic was seen off by Janez Zemljarić, vice-president of the FEC; Zoran Misokovic, FEC general secretary; Trajko Trajkovski, under-secretary in the Federal Secretariat of Foreign Affairs; and other officials.

Iranian Passport Forgery Center Discovered
*LD061630 Kuwait KUNA in English 1514 GMT
6 Dec 87*

[Text] Belgrade, Dec 6 (KUNA)—Yugoslav authorities Sunday discovered an Iranian center to falsificate passports and various visas in order to facilitate the task of moving Iranians to Western Europe via Turkey and Yugoslavia.

Widely-circulated daily "VESNIK" newspaper which is based in Zagreb said that the city's police discovered a house in which an Iranian man and a woman are in possession of 50 passports of various countries ready for forgery together with instruments for this purpose.

Heroes of this story, the paper added, are two Iranian citizens said to be married and are studying medicine in Zagreb University.

The paper said that the authorities discovered a list containing 1000 names of prospective customers who were charged 2000 U.S. dollars per forged passport.

Preliminary investigation revealed that Iranians arrive [in] Yugoslavia carrying Iranian and Turkish passports and then they replace them with either Spanish, Portuguese or many others at the residence of the two suspects.

The paper quoted the Iranian lady involved in the international swindling operation as saying that she was helping her fellow countrymen to register at the university and accommodations with the knowledge of the Iranian embassy in Belgrade.

The paper refrained from going into details of the case, while pointing out that this center may not be the only one in Yugoslavia for smuggling Iranians into the country for illegitimate purposes.